

# MODERN PHILOLOGY

VOLUME XXVIII

*August 1930*

NUMBER 1

## SOURCES OF DU BELLAY'S *CONTRE LES* *PÉTRARQUISTES*

IN THE chapter in the *Défense* concerning the amplification of the French language by means of imitations from classic authors, Du Bellay at the same time warns emphatically against any imitation of works in his own tongue.

Et certes, comme ce n'est point chose vicieuse, mais grandement louable, emprunter d'une Langue estrangere les Sentences & les motz, & les approprier à la sienne: aussi est-ce chose grandement à reprendre, voyre odieuse à tout Lecteur de liberale Nature, voir en une mesme Langue une telle Imitation, comme celle d'aucuns Scavans mesmes, qui s'estiment estre des meilleurs quand plus ilz ressemblent un Heroet, ou un Marot. Je t'admoneste donques (ô toy qui desires l'Accroissement de ta Langue & veux exceller en icelle) de non imiter a pié levé, comme n'aguere a dict quelqu'un, les plus fameux Auteurs d'icelle, ainsi que font ordinairement la plus part de notz Poetes Francoys, chose certes autant vicieuse comme de nul profiet a nostre vulgaire: veu que ce n'est autre chose si non de luy donner ce qui estoit a luy.<sup>1</sup>

Further confirmation of this program is contained in the epistolary Preface to the second edition of the *Olive*, in which he asserts that his poems owe nothing to his compatriots whether it be epithets, phrases, or figures.<sup>2</sup> In practice, however, though to a moderate extent, Du Bellay is indebted to compositions of Ronsard,<sup>3</sup> Pontus de Tyard,<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *La Pléiade française*, in *Œuvres françaises de Joachim Du Bellay* (ed. Marty-Laveaux; Paris, 1866), I, 17-18.

<sup>2</sup> Marty-Laveaux, I, 76-77.

<sup>3</sup> Consult the chapter on Ronsard and Du Bellay in Marcel Raymond, *L'Influence de Ronsard sur la poésie française* (Paris, 1927), I, 97-131.

<sup>4</sup> See Chamard, *Joachim Du Bellay* (Lille, 1900), pp. 192-93, and Merrill, *The Platonism of Joachim Du Bellay* (Chicago, 1923), pp. 117-18, 132.

[MODERN PHILOLOGY, August, 1930]

Heroët,<sup>1</sup> and even Marot<sup>2</sup> for details and suggestions. To these we should add the name of Mellin de Saint Gelais, whose poem *A une malcontente d'avoir esté sobrement louée et se plaignant non sobrement*<sup>3</sup> is the main source of *Contre les Pétrarquistes*. This last is one of the most notable examples of Du Bellay's infringement of his own theory of imitation.

Du Bellay's ode appeared originally in the second edition of the *Recueil de Poësie* (1553) with the title *A une dame*.<sup>4</sup> A re-elaboration, known as *Contre les Pétrarquistes*,<sup>5</sup> was published in *Jeux rustiques* (1558), and has become the accepted version of the satire. *A une malcontente* was not published in Saint Gelais' name during his lifetime nor subsequently until Blanchemain's edition in 1873. There is, however, no doubt that it was written before *A une dame*, inasmuch as it was printed under the name of Marot in *Epigrammes de Marot faictz a l'imitation de Martial; plus quelques autres œuvres dudit Marot non encore imprimées par cy-devant* (Poitiers and Paris, 1547).<sup>6</sup> Though it is possible that this version served as Du Bellay's model, it is more likely that he read the poem in manuscript. The many references to Saint Gelais scattered throughout his works and the translation of one of his Latin epigrams embodied in the sonnet *A son Luth*<sup>7</sup> indicate that he was directly acquainted with the court-poet's verses.

Both model and imitation have a similar pattern: (1) an introductory recantation of Petrarchism, (2) a cataloguing of stock Petrarchistic terms and expressions, (3) a conclusion that the lady or ladies in question will be praised simply and naturally for their own attractions without overstatement. Both satires contain the suggestion of a national protest against a foreign innovation. Finally, there are several passages in the two compositions related in word, thought, or technique, which, if taken in their ensemble, will establish beyond a

<sup>1</sup> See Merrill, *op. cit.*, pp. 85-86, 102, 132.      <sup>2</sup> See Chamard, *op. cit.*, p. 405.

<sup>3</sup> In *Œuvres* (ed. Blanchemain; Paris, 1873), I, 196 ff., and in Jannet's edition of the works of Marot (Paris, 1888), pp. 58 ff. Blanchemain indicates a serenade in Aretino's *Ragionamenti*, part II, *Giorn. II*, as the source of *A une malcontente* in his notes (p. 199). For a version of the serenade, see *I Ragionamenti* (Rome, 1921), p. 30.

<sup>4</sup> In *Joachim Du Bellay, Œuvres poétiques* (ed. Chamard; Paris, 1919), IV, 205-15.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, V (1923), 69-77.

<sup>6</sup> This fact is drawn from Ph. A. Becker, *Mellin de Saint Gelais: Eine kritische Studie* (Vienna and Leipzig, 1924), p. 40, kindly loaned me by Professor Nitze. It is also to Professor Nitze that I owe the suggestion of studying the sources of Du Bellay's poem.

<sup>7</sup> Chamard, *op. cit.*, p. 284.

doubt that *A une malcontente* was the chief source of inspiration of the ode.

The quantitative measure of a Petrarchist's sincerity employed in Du Bellay's first stanza echoes a like procedure in Saint Gelais.

## A UNE MALCONTENTE

*Ils dient tant que je croy que le tiers  
En escrivant fait rougir les papiers ...* [ll.  
54-55].

A UNE DAME<sup>1</sup>

*Ceux qui font tant de plaintes  
N'ont pas le quart d'une vraye amytié  
Et n'ont pas tant de peine la moitié,  
Comme leurs yeulx, pour vous faire pitié  
Getent de larmes feintes.*

A phrase in stanza 3 is taken from the model without reference to the context.<sup>2</sup>

## A UNE MALCONTENTE

*Car en ce corps fait de sucre et de miel ...*  
[l. 71].

## A UNE DAME

*De vos douceurs, ce n'est que sucre &  
miel.*

The metaphors in the ninth strophe might be found in any Petrarchist, but since they occur in *A une malcontente*, it is quite possible that they also were extracted from it. Aside from the mere enumeration of details, note the general similarity of procedure.

## A UNE MALCONTENTE

*Ceux là diront que les rays de vos yeux  
Font devenir le soleil envieux,  
Et que ce sont deux astres reluisans ...  
Ils jureront que vos mains sont d'ivoire  
Et que la neige au prix de vous est noire.  
De vos cheveux c'est moins que la raison  
De faire d'eux a l'or comparaison* [ll. 24-  
26, 35-36, 41-42].

## A UNE DAME

*De voz beautez, sçavous que j'en dirois?  
De voz deux yeulx deux astres je ferois,  
Voz blonds cheveux en or je changerois,  
Et voz mains en ivoire;  
Quant est du teinct, je le peindrois trop  
mieulx  
Que le matin ne colore les cieulx. ...*

Other scattered lines in *A une malcontente* are further related in thought and technique to verses in the twenty-third stanza of the ode.

## A UNE MALCONTENTE

*Et qui sauroit tant de fables redire  
Sans se facher ou sans mourir de rire? ...  
[Et neanmoins vous ouvrez les aureilles  
Et les tenez bien disants a merveilles.<sup>3</sup>  
Or, quant a moy ...* [ll. 52-53, 56-57, 60].

## A UNE DAME

*Je ry souvent, voyant pleurer ces foulx,  
Qui mille fois vouldroient mourir pour  
vous,  
Si vous croyez de leur parler si doulz  
Le parjure artifice;  
Mais, quant a moy. ...*

<sup>1</sup> The citations in this paper refer to the older and fuller text with the single exception of a newly added strophe from the later reading.

<sup>2</sup> On Du Bellay's method of borrowing see Merrill, *op. cit.*, pp. 113-14.

<sup>3</sup> Blanchemain indicates in a note that he has taken these lines from the manuscript which belonged to Henry II (executed ca. 1555). They are omitted in Jannet's edition of Marot.

Another phrase in stanza 29 is borrowed quite independently of the context of the original composition.

## A UNE MALCONTENTE

En escrivant fait rougir les papiers.<sup>1</sup>

## A UNE DAME

Et par leurs vers honteusement flatteurs,  
Rougir la carte blanche.

The next to the last strophe of *Contre les Pétrarquistes* happily replaces a rather ineffective stanza of the earlier version by adopting the more logical conclusion of *A une malcontente*. The thought of the first quatrain and four lines of Saint Gelais are similar, though Du Bellay softens the force and embellishes the expression.

## A UNE MALCONTENTE

Je diray bien, et ne mentiray point,  
Que sous les draps vous estes en bon point;  
Et que peut estre on voit mainte qui brague  
Qui beaucoup pres n'est point si bonne  
bague.

Mais de parler qu'estes chose divine ...

[ll. 65-69].<sup>2</sup>

## CONTRE LES PÉTRARQUISTES

De voz beautez je diray seulement  
Que, si mon ail ne juge follement,  
Vostre beauté est jointe également  
A vostre bonne grace.

In addition to the foregoing citations a passage in *Elégie d'amour* (*Jeux rustiques*), in part echoing the first stanza of *A une dame*, further attests to Du Bellay's acquaintance with and use of Saint Gelais' satire.

## A UNE MALCONTENTE

Or quant à moy, je ne saurois avoir  
Sens ni loisir d'apprendre ce savoir;  
N'i mon esprit est d'assez bonne marque  
Pour suyvre ainsi leur Danthe ou leur Pé-  
trarque [ll. 60-63].

## ELÉGIE D'AMOUR

Quant est de moy, ie ne pris onq'plaisir  
A contre-faire un amoureux désir,  
Comme ceulx là qui ayment par la plume,  
Et sans aymer, font l'amour par coustume.  
Je ne suis point si subtil artizan,  
Que de pouvoir d'un parler courtizan  
D'un faulx soupier, & d'une larme feinete  
Monstrer dehors une amitié contraincte,  
Dissimulant mon visage par art,  
Car ie ne suis ny Tuscan, ny Lombard [ll.  
33-40].<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This line almost literally translates a verse of Giovanni Mozzerello's sonnet, *Mentre i superbi tetti a parte a parte*, in *Rime diverse di molti eccellentiss. autori* ... (Venice, 1545), p. 71:

"Per far scrivendo vergognar le carte."

Unless Mozzerello and Saint Gelais drew from a common source, the parallel gives evidence that *A une malcontente* was composed some time between the publication of the 1545 *Rime diverse* and its appearance in the collection of Marot's poems in 1547.

<sup>2</sup> The use of the word *bref* in closing an enumeration employed twice in *A une dame* reflects a similar procedure in the earlier composition:

"A UNE MALCONTENTE

"Bref, vostre siècle ou vous avez vescu  
A les passés, par vous seule vaincu ... [ll.  
50-51]."

"A UNE DAME

"Et bref, ce n'est à ouyr leurs chansons,  
De leurs amours que flammes & glaçons  
[Stanza II, ll. 5-6]."

"Bref, il n'y a ny solitaires lieux ... [Stanza  
XI, l. 5]."

<sup>3</sup> Marty-Laveaux, II, 339.



If Du Bellay had any real acquaintance with the Italian anti-Petrarchists (Berni, Aretino, Franco, Mauro, Doni) at the time of the composition of his satire, their influence was a psychological one, merely strengthening his determination to ridicule the movement. One Italian source was, however, directly utilized—the *Asolani* of Cardinal Bembo. In Book II, through Gismondo, Bembo attacks the sham and banality of certain Petrarchistic poets. Among other things we are told that they write love-poetry, not because they feel the exaggerations which they express, but for the sole pleasure of the reader. Du Bellay incorporates the idea in stanza 10 of *A une dame*.

## "ASOLANI," BOOK II

I quali le più volte di quelli medesimi  
affetti favoleggiano, che fanno i dolorosi,  
non perciocchè essi alcuno di que' miracoli  
provino in sè, che i miseri e tristi dicono  
sovente di provare, *ma fannolo per porgere  
diversi soggetti agl'inchiostrati, acciocchè ...  
l'amorosa pittura riesca agli occhi de' ri-  
guardanti più vaga.*<sup>1</sup>

## A UNE DAME

Mais cet enfer de vaines passions,  
Ce paradis de belles fictions,  
*Deguisement de noz affections,  
Ce sont peintures vaines;  
Qui donnent plus de plaisir aux lisans,  
Que voz beautés à tous voz courtisans  
Et qu'au plus fol de tous ces biendisans  
Vous ne donnez de peines.*

From the same paragraph in the *Asolani* the author may have drawn the hyperboles of verses 4 and 5 of his second stanza.

## "ASOLANI," BOOK II

*Chi non sa dire che le sue lagrime  
sono pioggia, e venti i suoi sospiri.*

## A UNE DAME

*Ce n'est encor de leurs soupirs & pleurs  
Que vents, pluie, & orages.*<sup>2</sup>

In the first book, Perottino, in contending that love is always bitter, enumerates the commonplaces of the Petrarchistic lovers' despair.<sup>3</sup> To a similar enumeration Du Bellay devotes four strophes (12-15 inclusive). In both, the single items of the catalogue of stock expressions are introduced by the same co-relatives: Bembo makes use of *quale ... quale; altri, ... altri, altri ... ora ... ora, chi ... chi*, while Du Bellay employs *cestuy ... cestuy, l'un ... l'autre, ores ... ores*. The Bembian

<sup>1</sup> Bembo, *Prose Scelte* (ed. F. Costero; Milan, 1880), pp. 69-70. Vianey in *Le Pétrarquisme en France au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Montpellier, 1909), p. 175, argues that Du Bellay had certainly read the *Asolani* in the 1545 Jehan Martin translation but presents no proof of the indebtedness of *A une dame* to Bembo's prose work. Possible inspiration from the *Asolani* in *Jeux rustiques* (Marty-Laveaux, II, 111) is pointed out by Merrill (*op. cit.*, p. 81).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Petrarch, *Canzoniere* (ed. M. Scherillo; Milan, 1918), Son. XVII, p. 121:

"Più sonmi amare lagrime dal viso  
Con un vento angoscioso di sospiri  
Quando in voi adiven che gli occhi giri. ..."

<sup>3</sup> Since in Book II Bembo makes Gismondo ridicule these remarks of Perottino, we may say that the intention with which they were written was, in a measure, anti-Petrarchistic.

passage offers in addition two points of contact with this section of the ode.

The first is in the initial line of stanza 13. At this point the author begins his ridicule of the Petrarchistic series of metamorphoses, and, breaking away from the *Asolani* text verbally but not in manner, expands on the theme for two whole strophes.

"ASOLANI," BOOK I

A UNE DAME

... Ora in fonte si trasmuta, ora in  
albero, ora in fiera. ...<sup>1</sup>

Ores luy semble estre arbre devenu.

The second point of contact is offered by the opening verses of stanza 15. Here the double set of Bembian antitheses is awkwardly simplified by Du Bellay. The fact that the lines are consecutive in *A une dame* may be due to contamination with two lines of one of the most popular of Petrarch's sonnets: *Pace non trovo e non ho da far guerra*.

"ASOLANI," BOOK I

A UNE DAME

Perciocchè quale vive nel fuoco  
come salamandra, quale ogni caldo  
vital perdutone si raffredda come  
ghiaccio. ...

L'un meurt de froid & l'autre meurt de  
chault,

e chi portato da forzevoli venti ne va  
sopra le nuvole stando per cadere  
tuttavia, e chi nel centro della terra  
e negli abissi più profondi si dimora.<sup>2</sup>

L'un vole bas, & l'autre vole hault.

If conclusions can be drawn from this bit of evidence, it appears that Du Bellay owes to this passage from Bembo the inspiration, development, and, to a slight extent, the details of the four stanzas mentioned above.

A feature introduced by Saint Gelais in his poem, probably his own innovation, was the use or recall of individual and definitely traceable lines in order to ridicule a common Petrarchistic practice. For instance, the lines

Et s'enquerront du ciel et de l'idée  
D'ou telle grace au monde est procédée [ll. 29-30].<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 33.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 33. Cf. Petrarch, *Canzoniere* (ed. cit., p. 288), Son. CXXXIV:

"Pace non trovo e non ho da far guerra;  
E temo e spero, et ardo e son un ghiaccio;  
E volo sopra'l cielo, e giaccio in terra. ..."

The line in Jannet's edition of Marot, II, 58,

"Et beniront l'an, le ciel et l'idée"

is clear evidence of a corrupted text.

unmistakably draw our attention to the initial verses of a Petrarch sonnet.<sup>1</sup> The effectiveness of this procedure, which he could hardly fail to recognize, made a deep impression on Du Bellay; so deep that the suggestion derived from reading *A une malcontente* was expanded to constitute the substance of a large portion of his satire. For this type of material our author draws upon his own writings, the *Amours* of Ronsard, and Petrarch.

The stock metaphors in the first two lines of stanza 3 probably derive from the *Olive*, Sonnet LXII, verses 4-6. In the list of flowers composing the fourth lines, the combination *lys* and *œillets* is a routine expression in common use during the days of the *Pléiade*, going back to the *Marotiques*<sup>2</sup> and perhaps earlier writers. The addition of the word *rose* to the group, however, appears to have been made by Ronsard in the first book of the *Amours*, Sonnet VI. Reminiscence of this verse may have suggested the line in the ode, as Vianey surmises.<sup>3</sup> A phrase and a verse of Petrarch are recalled in the last three lines.

"OLIVE," SONNET LXII

Il y verra l'or, l'ivoire & le marbre,  
Il y verra les perles, le cinabre,  
Et le cristal.<sup>4</sup>

"CANZONIERE," SONNET CCCL

O poco mel, molto aloè con fele.<sup>5</sup>

SONNET CCXIII

Grazie ch'a pochi il ciel largo destina  
Rara virtù, non già d'umana gente.<sup>6</sup>

A UNE DAME

De voz beautez, ce n'est que tout fin or,  
Perles, crystal, marbre, & ivoire encor,  
Et tout l'honneur de l'Indique thresor,  
Fleurs, lys, œillets & roses:  
De voz douceurs, ce n'est que sucre &  
miel,  
De voz rigueurs, n'est qu'aloès & fiel,<sup>7</sup>  
De voz esprits, c'est tout ce que le ciel,  
Tient de graces encloses.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Canzoniere* (ed. cit., p. 314), Son. CLIX:

"In qual parte del ciel, in quale idea  
Era l'exemplo onde natura tolse  
Quel bel viso leggiadro, ..."

<sup>2</sup> Marot, in *Temple de Cupidon*, l. 344:

"Marguerittes, lys et œillets."

See also *Olive*, Son. LXV, LXXI; *Amours* (ed. Laumonier), Book I, Son. XXIX, XL, XLVI.

<sup>3</sup> *Chefs d'œuvre poétiques* (Paris, 1924), p. 105 n.

<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 536, l. 24.

<sup>4</sup> Marty-Laveaux, I, 112.

<sup>6</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 367, ll. 1-2.

<sup>7</sup> The expression *aloès & fiel* was probably unconsciously suggested by the connection of the final word of the preceding line, *-miel-*, with *mel* in Petrarch's line. *Aloès* was very rarely, if ever, used either by the Italian or by the French Petrarchists. The word does not occur in L. Mellerio, *Lézique de Ronsard* (Paris, 1895), nor in Marty-Laveaux, *Appendice, Langue de la Pléiade* (Paris, 1896-98), Vols. I and II.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. this stanza and Son. XXIII of Ronsard's *Amours* (ed. Laumonier) Book I, Son. IV, p. 26, with three quatrains from the poem in *Jeux rustiques, A Olivier de Magny*, beginning with the line

"Il me sembloit que tout l'honneur ...  
[Marty-Laveaux, II, 328]."

Though the phrase *mille morts* in the next stanza is one of the most shopworn Petrarchistic *clichés*, it is of interest to mention that Marot was one of the first Frenchmen to ridicule the multiple death of the conventional lovers of the time.<sup>1</sup>

A phrase in stanza 5 is fashioned on the pattern of one of the *XIII Sonnets de l'honneste Amour*, Sonnet XIII, line 12.

"XIII SONNETZ," SONNET XIII

A UNE DAME

L'astre bening de ma fatalité<sup>2</sup>

Vostre ascendant heureusement fatal.

Verbal similarities permit us to establish a definite connection between Sonnet XLVIII of the *Olive* (translated out of the 1545 *Rime diverse* from Giulio Camillo) and the initial verses of stanza 12. But Ronsard (*Amours*, Book I, Son. CLXXIX) had expressed the same idea, which doubtless became linked with the sonnet in the *Olive* in the mind of Du Bellay, resulting in the mythological reminiscence in the last two lines of the quatrain.<sup>3</sup>

"OLIVE," SONNET XLVII

Père Ocean, commencement des choses ...  
Tu ne sens point, quand moins tu te re-  
poses,  
Plus s'irriter de *slotz tempestueux*  
Contre tes bords, qu'en mon *cœur fluctueux*  
Je sen'de ventz et tempestes encloses.<sup>4</sup>

A UNE DAME

Cestuy-là porte en son *cœur fluctueux*  
De l'ocean les *slotz tumultueux*;  
Cestuy l'horreur des ventz *impetueux*  
Sortans de leur caverne.

"AMOURS," BOOK I, SONNET CLXXIX

Le prince Eole en ces moys ne deterre  
L'esclave orgueil des vents *tumultueux*,  
Ny l'Ocean des *slotz tempestueux*,  
De sa grand clef les sources ne desserre.  
Seulz mes souspirs ont ce vent enfanté,  
Et de mes pleurs le Loyr s'est aug-  
menté. ...<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Épître du Coq à l'asne* (ed. Jannet), I, 186:

"En disant qu'il est grand année  
D'amoureuses et d'amoureux  
De dolents et de langoureux  
Qui meurent le jour quinze fois."

<sup>2</sup> Marty-Laveaux, II, 66. Cf. the initial line of Ugolino Martelli's sonnet:

"La mia fatale avventurosa stella [*Rime diverse ... Libro secondo* (Venice, 1548), p. 52]."

<sup>3</sup> Cf. with stanza 11 two quatrains of the poem to Magny beginning

"Par tout je trouvois argument  
[Marty-Laveaux, II, 327-28]."

<sup>4</sup> Marty-Laveaux, I, 105.

<sup>5</sup> Laumonier, IV, 169, ll. 5-10.

The lady-in-dreams motive of the second quatrain of stanza 13 obviously satirizes Sonnet XIV of the *Olive*.

"OLIVE," SONNET XIV

Le fort sommeil, que celeste on doit  
croire,  
Plus doux que le miel couloit aux yeux  
lassez

Lorsque d'amour les plaisirs amassez  
Entrent en moy par la porte d'ivoire.  
J'ay lié ce col de marbre, voyre  
Ce sein d'alabastre, en mes bras enlassez  
Non moins qu'on voit les ormes embrassez  
Du sep lascif, au fecond bord de Loyre.  
Amour avoit en mes lasses mouëles  
Dardé le traict de ses flammes cruelles,  
Et l'ame erroit par ces levres de roses,  
Preste d'aller au fleuve oblivieux,  
Quand le reveil, de mon ayse envieux,  
Du doux sommeil a les portes decloses.<sup>1</sup>

A UNE DAME

Ore'il se faict accroire  
Sentir ses nerfs tiedement languissans,  
Entre voz braz les siens entrelaçans;  
Mais tout cela sont des songes passans  
Par la porte d'ivoire.

The connection between a passage in the *Recueil de poésie* and stanza 16 of *A une dame* has been pointed out by Merrill.<sup>2</sup>

In the seventeenth stanza, lines 3-4 echo a verse from Sonnet V of the *XIII Sonnets* group.

"XIII SONNETZ," SONNET V

Tirer d'Amour une cinquiesme essence.<sup>3</sup>

A UNE DAME

Et de l'amour, ou il se va baignant,  
Tire une quinte essence. ...

That the last stanza of the poem is a parody of the one hundred and thirteenth sonnet of the *Olive* is an opinion widely shared,<sup>4</sup> but it seems to us that it is based on generalities which fail to carry conviction. While both speak of a heavenly flight to the sojourn of the deity, the central idea is quite distinct: in one case the quest of spiritual happiness; and, in the other, merely the seeking of those celestial beauties with which to portray the loved one on earth. We suggest as the real source Sonnet CVI of the first book of Ronsard's *Amours*. So close is the relationship between the two passages in thought, details, and movement that recognition of Du Bellay's debt to Ronsard is immediate and convincing. Here we have the same heavenly flight on the same inspired wings, to the same habitat of the gods, where the lady will be painted from the most perfect model or idea. The only dif-

<sup>1</sup> Marty-Laveaux, I, 88.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 38.

<sup>3</sup> Marty-Laveaux, II, 62.

<sup>4</sup> Faguet, *Le seizième siècle* (Paris, 1906), p. 303; Marty-Laveaux, *La Pléiade française* (Paris, 1896), Appendice I, p. 84; Chamard, *Joachim Du Bellay*, pp. 198-99; Vianey, *Le Pétrarquisme* ..., p. 168.

ference is that the painter, Denisot, is replaced by the poet, a trifle which does not alter Du Bellay's debt to Ronsard in any way.

"AMOURS," BOOK I, SONNET CVI

*Haulte ton aïe, & d'un voler plus ample,  
Forçant des vents l'audace & le pouvoir,  
Fay, Denisot, tes plumes esmouvoir,  
Jusques au ciel du les dieux ont leur temple.  
Là d'oeil d'Argus, leurs deitez contemple,  
Contemple aussi leur grace & leur sçavoir,  
Et pour ma Dame au parfait concevoir,  
Sur les plus beculx fantastique un exemple.<sup>1</sup>*

A UNE DAME

*Si toutesfois tel style vous plaist mieulx  
Je reprendray mon chant melodieux,  
Et voleray jusqu'au séjour des Dieux  
D'une aïe mieux guidée.  
Là, dans le seing de leurs divinités,  
Je choisiray cent mille nouveutez,  
Dont je peindray voz plus grandes beautez  
Sur la plus belle Idée.*

The relationship between *A une dame* and *A une malcontente* might be compared to a picture repainted by an artist who has allowed the original outline and a few of the original details to remain dimly visible, but otherwise has so thoroughly retouched it that its early form is scarcely recognizable. The chief value of the source lies in its having furnished the inspiration, and, to some extent, the form of the ode. Doubtless Du Bellay would not have made use of it had he not seen in it the true reflection of his own feelings at the moment.

The *Asolani*, principally through the words of Perottino, suggested some vivid details to the author, and, through Gismondo, supplied him with a destructive blanket argument against the Italian school.

A third set of sources for his parody of Petrarchism consists of sonnets or parts of sonnets drawn from his own works, from Ronsard, and from Petrarch. From these he takes images and allusions; parts of them he summarizes. We re-emphasize here his indebtedness to Saint Gelais for the suggestion. Lack of direct references to other Petrarchists, especially the members of the *Pléiade*, might be explained by the fact that, since their material came from the same general sources (and therefore was likely to involve the use of similar phraseology, technique, figures of speech, and comparisons), citations and allusions drawn from one or several authors served as an adequate rebuke to all the poets of the school. Indeed, by restricting the satire to a few of its most distinguished exponents, as happens to be the case, he probably heightened its effect.

<sup>1</sup> Laumonier, IV, 104-5. Ronsard's source is Petrarch, *Canzoniere*, Son. LXXXVII (ed. cit., p. 212). References to other passages in the *Amours*, the *Olive*, and the *XIII Sonnets*, which are less specifically related to the ode than those already cited, will be omitted in this paper.

Was it a part of the author's plan to satirize specifically the amatory poetry of the three writers cited? In attempting to answer this question it is of the first importance to consider Du Bellay's method of composition. He himself has openly stated in his second Preface to the *Olive* (and there is certainly a grain of truth in his assertion) that ideas gleaned from his reading come spontaneously to his pen without his becoming aware of their derivation.<sup>1</sup> A convincing example of this practice, the more striking because of its connection with the satire, is the poem to Magny already mentioned, in which Du Bellay attributes to himself thoughts or phrases plainly more closely related to the *Amours* than to his own poetry. We must join to these semi-conscious lapses in the process of composing, those similarities which have the appearance of fillers, made necessary by meter, rhyme, or the thought-unity of the stanza, naturally including a few borrowings from himself, such as those from the *XIII Sonnetz*. On these grounds the parallels from the *Canzoniere* would be entirely eliminated, and, in regard to those from the *Amours*, some doubt at least arises as to there being any malicious intent on the part of Du Bellay. Moreover, to judge solely from the number of allusions to Du Bellay's own poetry as compared to the number of allusions to the *Amours*, the balance remains by a fair margin in favor of the former. From this we may conclude that if the author intended to ridicule any known Petrarchistic collection of verse, it was primarily his own compositions.<sup>2</sup>

JOSEPH G. FUCILLA

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY

<sup>1</sup> Marty-Laveaux, I, 76.

<sup>2</sup> Contrary to the contention of Vianey in *Chefs d'œuvre poétiques* (Paris, 1924), pp. 104-5, who follows the lead of Lanusse (*ibid.* [Paris, 1896]) in stating that Du Bellay aims above all at the *Amours* of Ronsard.





A NEGLECTED MANUSCRIPT: GUILLAUME COLLETET'S  
ESSAY ON MAURICE SCÈVE

IN THE course of some work on a much-discussed French poet of the sixteenth century, Maurice Scève, I have been surprised to find that what is left of a seventeenth-century document concerning the life and work of Scève has remained in manuscript form. The source of information to which I refer is the *Vie de Maurice Scève* by Guillaume Colletet—one of the essays in the collection called the *Vies des Poètes français*. The failure to publish Colletet's essay on Scève is all the more amazing when we remember that it is referred to by recent editors of the Lyonese poet as a source of information, and when we find that Colletet's essays on less important figures have been put into print. It is in the hope of making readily accessible an important source of information about Maurice Scève that I have prepared an edition of this essay.

Reviewing an edition of certain *Vies* of Colletet by Tamisey de Larroque entitled *Vies des Poètes gascons*,<sup>1</sup> Gaston Paris urged the importance of publishing the entire series of essays. Since the task seemed too great for any single individual, he suggested that the government undertake the important work. He then set forth what he believed to be the literary value of the *notices* of Colletet, and emphasized their importance when edited after the fashion of Tamisey de Larroque:

Les phrases souvent un peu creuses, banales, ou hyperboliques du bon Colletet sont ramenées à leur juste valeur; ses renseignements quelquefois vagues, contrôlés par les meilleures sources, et souvent par des documents inédits, reçoivent la précision exigée par la critique moderne; des analyses, des extraits des ouvrages cités, des nomenclatures bibliographiques complètent et enrichissent singulièrement ses notices.<sup>2</sup>

Unfortunately, the hope of Gaston Paris was never realized, for five years later the *Vies des Poètes français par ordre chronologique depuis 1209 jusqu'en 1647* (5 vols., in-4°) were among the many manu-

<sup>1</sup> Paris: A. Aubry, 1866.

<sup>2</sup> *Revue critique d'histoire et de littérature* (2<sup>e</sup> semestre, 1866), pp. 189-91.

scripts destroyed in the fire that broke out at the Bibliothèque du Louvre (May, 1871). Fortunately for students of literary history, the Bibliothèque Nationale secured shortly afterward a partial reproduction of the original work. In the original manuscript there had been some 460 *Vies*, whereas in the partial reproduction now at the Bibliothèque Nationale there are only 147. According to Léopold Pannier, this partial reproduction had been made early in the nineteenth century, probably for Aimé-Martin who seems to have used it in his courses.<sup>1</sup> Pannier thinks that certain errors in copying and the arrangement in alphabetical order prove the copy to have been made not from Guillaume Colletet's manuscript, but from an alphabetical revision of this made by his son, François Colletet. Tamisey de Larroque asserts that this reproduction is only a "copie partielle, ou, pour mieux dire, résumé des précieuses notices du bon Guillaume."<sup>2</sup> Thus the work seems to be an abridgment and summary of the original *notices*.

The history of Colletet's *Vies des Poètes français*, and how they were almost published on several occasions, is an interesting one. The idea of composing a series of essays on French poets from 1209 down to his own time appears to have grown out of a less pretentious piece of work—the translation into French of the *Elogia virorum illustrium* of Scévole de Sainte-Marthe.<sup>3</sup> All that happened to Colletet's manuscript from the time of his death until it was burned is related by Paul Bonnefon in an article in the *Revue d'histoire littéraire* for 1895.<sup>4</sup> It is briefly this:

After the death of Guillaume Colletet, who had never quite found time to complete his original plan and bring the chronological history of French poetry up to date, the manuscript passed into the hands of his son, François. The latter pretended to rearrange, revise, and correct the work while putting it in alphabetical order. He often attributed to himself credit due only to his father. In spite of almost

<sup>1</sup> *Essai de Restitution du manuscrit des Vies des Poètes français de Guillaume Colletet* (Paris: Franck, 1872).

<sup>2</sup> Quoted from the article of Paul Bonnefon, mentioned below.

<sup>3</sup> *Eloges des Hommes illustres qui depuis un siècle ont flori en France, dans la profession des Lettres, composés en Latin par Scévole de Sainte Marthe et mis en François par G. Colletet* (Paris: chez Antoine de Sommaville et Augustin Courbé, 1644).

<sup>4</sup> "Contribution à un Essai de Restitution du manuscrit de G. Colletet," *Rev. d'hist. litt.*, 1895, pp. 59-77.

desperate efforts to have the work published, no financial support could be obtained. There seems to have been no further effort at publication until 1730, when the book-dealer, Gabriel Martin, approached the possessor of the manuscript with a view to its publication, but after everything had been arranged, the plans came to naught for some unknown reason. Several times after this date plans were made for the publication of the work, but none was carried through. Finally, the librarian of the Bibliothèque du Louvre, M. de Caussade, had made definite arrangements with the publisher Lemerre to print the work when the fire occurred and the manuscript was destroyed. The revision made by François Colletet was also in the Bibliothèque du Louvre (6 vols., in-4°) and was likewise burned. The history of this ill-starred manuscript almost leads one to believe that some malicious spirit had condemned it never to be printed, and was constantly on hand to thwart the best-laid plans for its publication.

In spite of the inaccuracies, from the standpoint of modern literary technique, that are implicit in a critical work written during the seventeenth century, Gaston Paris felt that the essays of Colletet on the French poets were of no small importance. In view of this fact, it is my belief that even this probably fragmentary copy of the *Vie de Maurice Scève* will have some interest for those who are concerned with the French Renaissance. This document, presented in the following pages, comprises folios 456-62 of the *Vies des Poètes français* which is catalogued among the manuscripts of the Bibliothèque Nationale as follows: Nouv. Acq. Fr. 3073.

#### MAURICE SCEVE

1560<sup>1</sup>

Voici un de ces Poètes de qui la réputation s'espandit de son tems par tout le monde; dans le noble dessein qu'il eut de contenter plutôt son Esprit que l'opinion du peuple, il fut le premier qui laissant la bassesse des rymes et l'ignorante poésie de son siècle qu'à l'exemple des autres il avait embrassé dès sa jeunesse, fortifia son style avec l'age et remporta finalement le titre de profond et de grave dans ses nouvelles

<sup>1</sup> Contemporary critics set a slightly later date for Scève's death: 1563 or 1564. See the Introduction to B. Guégan's edition of the *Œuvres poétiques complètes* (Paris: Garnier, 1927). Parturier, in the Introduction to his edition of the *Délie* (Soc. des Textes Fran. Mod.; Paris: Hachette, 1916), makes no attempt to fix this date.

inventions. C'est l'éloge que Jacques Pelletier<sup>1</sup> et Thomas Sybilet<sup>2</sup> lui donnent dans leurs poétiques et qui lui fut après confirmé par une infinité de doctes plumes. Joachim du Bellay passe bien plus avant lorsque dans ses amours d'Olive, il lui adresse un sonnet où il l'honore du titre de *nouveau Cigne* et d'*esprit divin*.

Qu'un esprit que la troupe honorée  
Du double mont admire en l'escoutant  
Cygne nouveau qui voles en chantant  
Du chaud rivage au froid hyperborée, &c.<sup>3</sup>

Mais l'honneur que son siècle lui défera possible justement, le siècle d'après le lui ravit, aussi peut-être avec autant de justice. Car s'étant proposé à l'imitation des italiens de célébrer les beautés d'une maîtresse sous le nom de Délie non pas en sonnets dont l'usage n'était pas alors introduit en France<sup>4</sup> mais par des dizains continuels, il tomba dans des sentimens si sombres et si obscurs, que jamais le ténébreux Lycophron ne le fut davantage; c'est ce qui obligea Pasquier même tout idolâtre qu'il était de l'ancienne poésie de confesser dans ses recherches de la France<sup>5</sup> qu'en le lisant il ne l'entendait pas et qu'il ne voulait pas être entendue;<sup>6</sup> ce que Saint Hierosme dit autrefois de Perse, lorsque le sacrifiant au feu de sa colère,

intellereturis Ignibus ille dedit.<sup>7</sup>

Quant à moi je serais volontiers de son opinion. Je trouve tant de rudesse dans ses vers, et tant d'imaginations espagnoles et alambi-

<sup>1</sup> *Art poétique* (Lyon, 1555), p. 13. In passing we might mention Peletier's poem, *A Un Poëte écrivant obscurément* (*Œuvres poétiques* [ed. Séché et Laumonier; Paris, 1904], p. 190), which seems to be aimed at Scève and shows a different feeling from that expressed in the *Art poétique*.

<sup>2</sup> *Art poétique français* (Soc. des Textes Fran. Mod.; Paris, 1910), p. 33.

<sup>3</sup> *L'Olive*, Son. CV.

<sup>4</sup> This date is certainly true for the date at which the earliest dizains of the *Délie* were composed. But both Marot and Saint-Gelais had written sonnets before the work appeared in print in 1544.

<sup>5</sup> *Les Œuvres d'Estienne Pasquier, contenant ses Recherches de la France* (Amsterdam, 1723), Livre VII, chap. vi.

<sup>6</sup> *Entendue* is evidently an error on the part of the copyist.

<sup>7</sup> The only intelligible reading of this line is *intellecuris*, etc. Colletet was far too good a Latin scholar to have made such an error: it can only be an error on the part of the copyist.

There appears to be no such statement about Persius in the works of St. Jerome. Professor E. K. Rand, of Harvard University, suggests that Colletet's memory is at fault: he is probably attributing to Jerome a variation on a line of Ovid, "Emendaturis ignibus ipse ded!" (*Tristia* iv. 10. 62). Ovid speaks of consigning his own works to the flames which will amend them. Another eminent St. Jerome scholar, President A. S. Pease, of Amherst, likewise recalls no such statement on the part of St. Jerome, and is inclined to accept Professor Rand's explanation.

quées qui s'évanouissent dans l'air qu'on peut dire de lui ce que l'Andromaque d'Homère disait à son fils, Hector, le voyant sortir de Troye tout armé: *Mon fils, ta valeur te perdra.*<sup>1</sup> Et en effet il semble qu'il ne se soit jamais élevé dans les nuës que pour s'y perdre.

Il naquit en la ville de Lyon d'une ancienne et noble famille et féconde même en poètes puisque j'en trouve trois ou quatre du nom de Scève qui dans le dernier siècle s'éternisèrent par leurs vers, je dis trois ou quatre en comptant les femmes, puisque Claudine et Sybille Scève ses parentes,<sup>2</sup> le suivirent au Parnasse aussi bien que Jean Scève, prieur de Montrotier dont on voit encore les œuvres imprimées.<sup>3</sup> Je trouve qu'il était d'une taille fort audessous de la médiocre; mais la nature en récompense l'avait pourvu d'un génie capable des sciences les plus profondes et les plus élevées et je suis le plus trompé du monde en lisant ses écrits où il y a beaucoup de doctrine confuse et d'érudition voilée, si sa conversation n'était plus agréable que ses vers.

Pour prouver que ce poète était petit de corps, je rapporterai le témoignage d'un de ses doctes amis, Charles de Sainte Marthe qui parle de lui de la sorte dans son *Tempé de France*.

Près de Melin un Sceve s'est assis  
Petit de corps, d'un grand esprit rassis  
Qui l'escoutant, malgré qu'il en ait, lie  
Aux grands sons de sa douce Thalie, &c.<sup>4</sup>

Ainsi M. Scève dans sa petitesse, pouvait justement dire de lui ce que la fameuse et petite Saphon disait autrefois d'elle-même.

Sum brevis, at nomen quod terras impleat omnes  
Est mihi, mensuram nominis ipsa fero.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A rather glaring error: Hector was Andromache's husband not her son. The reference is to the *Iliad* vi. 407.

<sup>2</sup> They were sisters of Maurice Scève (Guégan ed., Introduction; cf. also A. Baur, *Maurice Scève et la Renaissance lyonnaise* [Paris: Champion, 1906], p. 27).

<sup>3</sup> Neither Baur nor Guégan mention a "Jean Scève, Prieur de Montrotier." This position was held until 1557 by an intimate friend of Maurice Scève, Jean de Vauzelles, whose brother, Matthieu, was the husband of Claudine Scève. Brunet (*Suppl.*, II, 611) lists Jean Scève as the author of a work that appeared in 1559, *Ruine et Tresbuchement de Mars, Dieu des Guerres, aux Enfers*. Goujet (*Bib. fran.*, XI, 451) also mentions Jean Scève and the work just referred to. I have been unable to discover whether a Jean Scève held the position in question after the death of Jean de Vauzelles in 1557.

Colletet omits from the list of members of the Scève family who attained literary fame the name of Guillaume Scève, the wealthy cousin and intimate friend of our poet. Guillaume Scève was a distinguished humanist and patron of letters. Most of his work is in Latin.

<sup>4</sup> "Elegie du Tempé de France," *La Poésie française de Charles de Sainte Marthe* (Lyon: chez le Prince, 1540), p. 202.

<sup>5</sup> Dio Chrysos., *Corinthiaca*, 128 R. (II, 307).

Pour parvenir au temple de la Gloire, ayant pris une autre route que ceux de son tems, et s'étant aussi beaucoup plus qu'eux adonné sérieusement à l'étude des bonnes lettres il traita les matières avec beaucoup plus de doctrine et plus de solidité. Ce qui fut cause que les sciences n'étant pas encore éclaircies il ne se rendit guères intelligible qu'aux plus sçavants: du moins c'est la pensée de Du Bellay, qui dans sa *Musagnoemachie* rend de lui ce favorable témoignage:

Sceve dont la gloire noüe  
En la Saone qui te loüe  
Docte aux doctes esclairey  
Salel que la France advoüe  
L'autre gloire de Quercy.<sup>1</sup>

Et pour le justifier encore plus clairement, je passerai de la personne de l'auteur au détail de ses ouvrages. L'an 1544 il fit imprimer pour la première fois à Lyon in-8° en fort beaux caractères ses vers amoureux intitulés *Délie objet de plus haute vertu*<sup>2</sup> contenant 458 dixains<sup>3</sup> sur le sujet de sa maitresse avec plusieurs emblemes et figures délicatement gravées en taille de bois et le portrait de l'auteur qui paraissait dès lors assez agé.

Je sais bien qu'il y en a quelques-uns qui ont fait de doctes réflexions et qui ont philosophé sur ce mot de Délie en disant que sous ce nom feint, il a voulu entendre l'idée véritable de la vertu dont il était amoureux, et ce d'autant plus que dans l'inversion des lettres de Délie, il s'y rencontre l'Idée,<sup>4</sup> quoi qu'il en soit laissant toutes ces réflexions, je me contenterai de rapporter ici deux ou trois de ses dizains amoureux, qui feront juger de son style, voici donc les deux premiers.

L'œil trop ardent de mes jeunes erreurs  
Giroüettait mal caut à l'impourvüe  
Voicy o peur d'agréables terreurs  
Mon Basilic<sup>5</sup> qui de poignante vüe

<sup>1</sup> *Musagnoemachie*, ll. 224-28 (*Œuvres poétiques* de J. du Bellay [ed. Soc. Textes Fran. Mod.], p. 13).

<sup>2</sup> *Délie, objet de plus haute vertu* (Lyon: chez Sulpice Sabon pour Antoine Constantin, 1544; pet. in-4°).

<sup>3</sup> Brunet confirms this information. I have not had the opportunity to consult this edition, but modern editions of the poem contain only 449 dizains.

<sup>4</sup> This peculiarity has been repeated by all those who have concerned themselves with the *Délie*. Modern critics do not put too much faith in it, however. La Croix du Maine ("Maurice Scève," *Bibliothèque française* [Paris, 1584]) has the same statement.

<sup>5</sup> Guégan (ed. cit.) has the reading *Basilisque*.



Perçant Corps, Cœur, et raison dépourvüe  
 Vint pénétrer an l'âme de mon âme.  
 Grand fut le coup, qui sans tranchant l'âme<sup>1</sup>  
 Fait que vivant le Corps, l'esprit devie  
 Piteuse hostie au conspect de toy, dame  
 Constituee Idole de ma Vie.

Voici le second:

Le Nurant par ses hautes idées  
 Rendit de soy la nature admirable  
 Par les Vertus de sa Vertu guidées  
 S'esvertua en œuvre esmerveillable.  
 Car de tout bien voire es dieux desirable  
 Parfit<sup>2</sup> un corps en sa perfection  
 Mouvant aux cieus telle admiration  
 Qu'au premier œil mon ame l'adora  
 Comme de tous<sup>3</sup> la delectation  
 Et de moy seul<sup>4</sup> fatale Pandora.

Mais pour témoigner qu'il n'approchent pas tous du Galimatias, en voici quelques uns tant soit peu de meilleure trempe:

Ma dame et moy jouants dedans un Pré<sup>5</sup>  
 Voicy tonnerre, esclairs, nuit et pluye  
 Parquoy soudain je fis<sup>6</sup> outre mon gré  
 Avecque moy cuidant qu'elle s'enfuye  
 Et quand je fus au couvert je m'appuye  
 Pour prendre haleine et pour aussy la voir  
 Mais pour le tems ne se voullut mouvoir  
 Car l'eau par tout là<sup>7</sup> fuyait çà et là,  
 Lors j'apperçus les dieux du ciel pleuvoir  
 Craignants son feu qui tant de gens brûla.<sup>8</sup>

On en peut voir ainsi quelques autres assez raisonnables comme quelques rayons de lumière parmi les ténèbres. L'an 1547 il publia un assez long poëme Pastoral intitulé la Saulsaye ou Eglogue de la Vie

<sup>1</sup> Both Parturier and Guégan give the reading *sans tranchante lame*. The reading given here looks like extreme carelessness on the part of the person who copied the original manuscript of Colletet.

<sup>2</sup> Guégan and Parturier both give the reading *parfeit*.

<sup>3</sup> The copyist had written *toute* and then changed it to *tous*.

<sup>4</sup> Here the copyist had written *seule* and then crossed out the final *e*.

<sup>5</sup> Both the modern editions of the *Délie* give the reading *emmy un Pré*.

<sup>6</sup> Both the modern editions of the *Délie* give the reading *je suis*.

<sup>7</sup> Guégan gives the reading *le*; Parturier gives *la*. The latter seems to be the acceptable reading.

<sup>8</sup> Dizain CLXX.

Solitaire<sup>1</sup> dont le style n'est pas véritablement si obscur que celui de sa Délie mais en récompense il me semble plus lâche et moins rempli; en voici le commencement:

Non sans raison je me suis reveillé  
 Au premier somme et fort esmerveillé  
 Oyant, Philorme, une voix lontems<sup>2</sup> plaindre  
 Piteusement, et qui sans point se feindre  
 Se lamentant montrait par sa complainte  
 Une ame triste et de douleur atteinte<sup>3</sup>  
 Je ne pouvais en sommeillant comprendre  
 Que ce fut toy qui me l'as fait entendre  
 Par tant de fois, si bien j'eusse ouvert l'œil  
 Qui m'est cognū plus qu'à toy ce Soleil.  
 Et mesmement dès que tu soulais paistre  
 Sur la montagne, et non en ce champestre  
 Lieu solitaire, ou la Saulsaye epesse  
 Souds douce horreur est de mort une espèce  
 Où nul fors toy, et tout desespoir vient  
 Car je t'ai veu (et très bien m'en souvient),  
 Quand tu suivais Doris la camusette  
 Tout attentif au son de ta musette, &c.

Et comme son Arion ou Eglogue sur le trépas de François dauphin de France qui mourut à Tournon l'an 1535 est à peu près de même style.<sup>4</sup> Ses blasons du front, du sourcil, de la gorge,<sup>5</sup> imprimés avec les blasons anatomiques du corps féminin me semblent beaucoup plus supportables. Mais à mon gré le plus considerable de ses ouvrages et pourtant le moins connu, est un long poème en vers héroïques divisé en trois livres qu'il publia in-4° à Lyon l'an 1562 sous le titre de *Microcosme* ou *tableau du petit monde*,<sup>6</sup> et quoique son nom n'y soit pas au frontispice, non plus qu'à sa *Delie* où il n'y a que ces deux lettres capitales de son nom, M.S. non plus qu'à son *Eglogue de la Vie Solitaire* où il n'y a que sa seule devise qui était *souffrir non souffrir*, si est ce que selon l'auteur anonyme du *promptuaire des médailles*, Charles Fontaine l'un de ses meilleurs amis qu'il appelle

<sup>1</sup> *Saulsaye, Eglogue de la vie solitaire* (Lyon: Jean de Tournes, 1547; in-8°). (Brunet.)

<sup>2</sup> Guégan gives the reading *long temps*.

<sup>3</sup> Guégan gives the reading *atteinte*.

<sup>4</sup> As a matter of fact, the dauphin François died August 10, 1536. The work referred to here is *Arion, Eglogue sur le trépas de François Dauphin de France* (Lyon: chez François Juste, 1536; in 16°).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. ed. Guégan, pp. 281-87.

<sup>6</sup> *Microcosme* (Lyon: par Jean de Tournes, MDLXII; in 4°). For some unknown reason La Croix du Maine attributes this work to Jean Desmontiers.

profond en ses vers, et admirable en toute doctrine, et après lui tous nos bibliothécaires français, Maurice Scève est le véritable auteur de cet ouvrage. Et puis ou son stile obscur, et aussi difficile que celui de Dante m'est du tout inconnu, ou ce poème ne procède que d'une même source. En voici le commencement du premier livre, où je ne sais si ce mot de triple en bonne théologie convient bien à l'unité de dieu en trois personnes:

Dieu qui trine en un fus, triple es, et trois seras,  
Et comme les Esleus nous eterniseras  
De ton divin Esprit enflamme mon courage  
Pour descire ton homme, et louer ton ouvrage  
Ouvrage vrayment chef-d'œuvre de ta main  
A ton image fait et divin et humain.

Et le reste où il y a de longs et comme nécessaires episodes, qui ne sont pas indignes de la force de l'esprit de l'auteur, ni du mérite de son sujet. Surtout après y avoir exagéré la création et les premières actions du premier homme il y fait une profonde reflexion sur la nature des divers animaux qui lui étaient assujettis et ensuite montrant qu'Adam était né pour le Ciel, il y parle des divers mouvemens des cieux, et des propices ou contraires influences des astres; et ainsi dans la rudesse de son style, il enseigne beaucoup de choses doctes et curieuses, mais comme j'ai cité les premiers vers de ce poème voici comment il le finit par le designement du tems où il le composa

Universelle paix appaisait l'univers  
L'an que ce Microcosme en trois lieux<sup>1</sup> divers  
Fut ainsi mal tracé de trois mille et trois vers.

Il eut certes bien pû se passer de cette fin puisque, comme tout le reste elle est si fort éloignée du mérite et de la force de celle des Georgiques de Virgile quand il dit:

Haec super arborum cultu pecorumque canebam  
Et super arboribus, Caesar dum magnus ad altum  
Fulminat. . . .<sup>2</sup>

aussi bien que de celle des Metamorphoses d'Ovide:

Hoc opus exegi quod nec Jovis ira nec ignes  
Nec poterit ferrum, nec edax abolere vetustas.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The reading for this given by Guégan is *livres*. This is evidently more satisfactory than *lieux*. According to A. Baur (*Maurice Scève et la Renaissance lyonnaise* [Paris: Champion, 1906], p. 125), these lines prove that the *Microcosme* was composed before March, 1562.

<sup>2</sup> *Georgics* iv. 559-61.

<sup>3</sup> *Metamorphoses* xv. 872-73.

Et même de celle des Amours de Ronsard,

J'allais roulant ces larmes de mes yeux.<sup>1</sup>

Et comme il fut du tems de la resurrection du sonnet en France il voulut aussi en régaler d'un de sa façon cette illustre princesse Jeanne, infante de Navarre, ce qu'il fit par celui-ci que j'ai rencontré dans les œuvres poétiques de Marguerite de Valois, reine de Navarre:

La Marguerite ou la celeste aurore  
De ses couleurs print l'imitation  
S'esclost icy en la perfection  
Qui saintement ce monde emperle et dore

Et de la France ainsy le nom decore  
Qui par chrestienne et rare invention  
Discours divin et haute affection  
Avec le ciel, la terre en dieu l'adore

Dont du soleil de ses vertus le lustre  
Malgré le tems illustrere<sup>2</sup> tout age  
Par eternelle et heureuse mémoire.

A celle fin, que vous, princesse illustre  
Estant miroir de sa Royale image  
Soyez aussy l'image de sa Gloire.<sup>3</sup>

Et par ce sonnet je suis encore d'autant plus confirmé dans la créance qu'il affectait sans aucune raison une certaine obscurité vicieuse, aussi fut-ce pour cela sans doute que, comme dit Pasquier même, son livre mourut avec lui ou du moins que l'on ne le rencontra depuis que fort rarement entre les mains des curieux et des poètes. Quant à sa prose sa version française assez elegante pour le tems de la déplorable fin de Flammette composée en langue Castillane par Jean Flores espagnol et publié à Lyon l'an 1535, comme aussi sa description de l'entrée du roi Henri 2 en la ville de Lyon l'an 1548, et publiée en même lieu l'année suivante 1549, sont des temoignages evidents, s'il n'était pas des plus excellents poètes de son siècle, qu'il était du moins orateur assez supportable.

<sup>1</sup> Son. CLXXXII (ed. Société des Textes Français Modernes; Paris: Hachette, 1925), IV, 172.

<sup>2</sup> Guégan gives *illustrera*. The reading given here is evidently another of the copyist's frequent errors.

<sup>3</sup> Guégan ed., p. 291.

Il mourut assez agé sous le règne du jeune roi François, c'est à dire environ l'an 1560.<sup>1</sup>

Pierre de Ronsard a parlé fort avantageusement de lui dans ses œuvres, jusques là même que Claude Binet dans la vie de ce prince de nos poètes, dit qu'il lui donnait un des premiers rangs entre ceux qui avaient en France commencé à bien écrire.<sup>2</sup> Clement Marot dans la réponse à Sagon, sous le nom de Phrippelippes son valet le met au nombre des meilleurs Poètes de son tems en ces termes:

Un Brodeau, Un Sceve, un Chappuy  
Vont-ils écrire contre lui?<sup>3</sup>

Pontus de Thiard depuis évêque de Chalons<sup>4</sup> ravi de son mérite, et de sa grande réputation lui dédia ses trois livres fameux des *Erreurs amoureuses* de Pasithée<sup>5</sup> par ce sonnet de Loüange qui commence ainsi:

Si en toy luit le flambeau gracieux  
Flambeau d'amour qui tout grand<sup>6</sup> cœur allume  
Comme il faisait, lors qu'a ta docte plume  
Tu fis hausser le vol jusques aux cieux  
Donne sans plus une heure à tes deux yeux  
Pour voir l'ardeur qui me brûle et consume &c.

François Habert d'Issoudun<sup>7</sup> dans son recueil d'epigrammes qui est à la fin de son Temple de Chasteté lui en adresse une où il dit que

<sup>1</sup> This is probably erroneous, as has already been noted (see n. 1 on the first page of the manuscript).

<sup>2</sup> "Les premiers Poètes et escrivaîns qu'il a estimé avoir commencé à bien écrire ont esté Maurice Sceve, Hugues Salel, et Jacques Pelletier. Quant aux autres, ils sont assez cogneus et remarquez en ses œuvres" (C. Binet, *Discours de la Vie de Pierre de Ronsard* [Paris: Gabriel Buon, 1586], p. 30).

<sup>3</sup> The reading of this passage given in all modern editions of Marot's works is:

"(Je ne voy pas que ...)  
Un Brodeau, un Sceve, un Chappuy,  
Voyent escrivant contre luy."

<sup>4</sup> According to Goujet (*Bib. fran.*, XIV, 36), Pontus de Tyard became Bishop of Châlons in 1578.

<sup>5</sup> Colletet is evidently referring to the edition of 1555, since this is the earliest in which there were *trois livres* of the *Erreurs amoureuses* (Lyon: Jean de Tournes, 1555; in-8"). The lines quoted here are the first six lines of Son. I of the first book. Beyond the fact that the opening sonnet is addressed to Maurice Scève, I see no justification for Colletet's statement that the *Erreurs amoureuses* were dedicated to him. Nowhere in the work does Tyard make any such statement; in fact, the preliminary discourse very clearly dedicates the edition *A Sa Dame*.

<sup>6</sup> Marty-Laveaux (collection *La Pléiade française*; volume containing the works of Dorat and Tyard [Paris: Lemerre, 1875]) gives the reading *gent*.

<sup>7</sup> A native of the province of Berry. Translated the fifteen books of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. La Croix du Maine (*Bib. fran.*, pp. 98-100) says that his works were composed between 1540 and 1570. Considerable information about him is given in this article, and many of his works are listed.

Lyon se doit aussi bien glorifier de l'heureuse naissance de Maurice Sceve Poète Lyonnais que Cahors en Quercy se vante de celle de Marot—ajoutant que son nom ne mourra jamais.<sup>1</sup> Eustorg de Beaulieu<sup>2</sup> après l'avoir appelé très élégant poète et orateur lui dédia une épigramme ascrostiche qui se rencontre dans ses vieilles et diverses rymes.<sup>3</sup> Charles de Sainte Marthe dans ses poésies françaises lui dédie plusieurs vers, où aussi bien que du Bellay il le traite non seulement d'esprit grave, eloquent et très erudit, mais encore d'esprit admirable et presque divin, témoin ces derniers vers d'une de ses épigrammes,

Voyant mes yeux ta docte gravité  
Ta profonde eloquence et mirable facture  
Je doute là soudain ravi et arrêté  
Si tu es plus divin qu'humaine creaturé.<sup>4</sup>

Et dans une de ses épîtres en prose au secrétaire d'Avanson écrite l'an 1540 il tranche absolument en sa faveur le nom de divin, disant—  
"Si je ne suis si parfait dans notre poésie que ceux qui y sont consommés comme Marot, Saint-Gelays, Scève, Fontaine, et autres semblables poètes français divins et très erudits, &c.—"<sup>5</sup> Charles Fontaine n'oublie pas de lui donner de grands éloges dans ses diverses épigrammes, aussi bien que G. Thesaut<sup>6</sup> dans une de ses épîtres au même Fontaine le cite au nombre des beaux esprits de son siècle qui n'approuveront jamais les fades écrits de Sagon contre Marot:

Je suis certain que St Gelais et Scève  
Ne le prendront que pour homme qui resve, &c.<sup>7</sup>

Antoine de Saix surnommé *Leprovier de Discipline* dans son petit *Fatras poétique* imprimé l'an 1537 parle de lui avec éloges.<sup>8</sup> Joachim

<sup>1</sup> *Le Temple de Chasteté, avec plusieurs épigrammes* (Paris: M. Fezandat, 1549). The poem referred to here is Epigramme XII: *De Maurice Seve, Poète francoys demourant à Lyon*.

<sup>2</sup> On Eustorg de Beaulieu see Hélène Harvitt, *Eustorg de Beaulieu, a Disciple of Marot* (Lancaster, Pa.: New Era Printing Press, 1918).

<sup>3</sup> A careful search through the *Divers Rapports* (Paris, 1544) failed to reveal any poem dedicated to Maurice Scève.

<sup>4</sup> *Poésie française* (Lyon: Le Prince, 1540). The poem referred to is found on p. 50.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 225.

<sup>6</sup> An anagram used by Guillaume des Autels. "On trouve ... une Epître de G. Thesault, c'est-à-dire, de Guillaume des Autels dans les poésies de Charles Fontaine" (Abbé Goujet, *Bib. fran.*, XII, 348).

<sup>7</sup> *Les Ruisseaux de Charles Fontaine* (Lyon: Payan, 1555), p. 231. The correct reading of these two lines is:

"Je croirois bien que Sangelais et Sceve  
Fendront plaisir en un homme qui resve."

<sup>8</sup> In spite of a diligent search through the Parisian libraries, I have been unable to consult a copy of this work in order to check the reference.

du Bellay lui adresse quelques sonnets que nous lisons dans ses *Regrets* avec plaisir, témoin celui qui commence:

Scève, je me trouvay comme le fils d'Amboise.<sup>1</sup>

Louis le Caron, dit Charondas, dans son poème intitulé *Le Ciel des Graces* imprimé avec ses autres poésies l'an 1556 lui donne un rang honorable parmi les poètes sacrés de son siècle:

Qui vous a ravis aux cieux  
Ronsard, Saint-Gelais, Jodèle,  
Scève, Bellay gracieux  
Esprits de Gloire Immortelle, &c.<sup>2</sup>

Paul Augier le met au nombre des très scientifiques poètes auxquels il dédie son poème célèbre de *l'honnête amant*.<sup>3</sup> Guillaume des Autels, Gentilhomme Charolais dans son *repos de plus grand travail* fait honorable mention de lui en plusieurs endroits comme dans ce sonnet,

L'esprit du ciel en terre descendu  
Qui tourmenté d'amoureuse folie  
Cria si haut le nom d'une Délie.  
Que plus haut son ne peut estre entendu, &c.<sup>4</sup>

Et dans cette epigramme encore,

Le même dieu Scève qui te blessa, &c.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Regrets*, Son. CXXXVII (ed. Soc. des Textes Fran. Mod., II, 163). The correct reading is d'Anchise, and not d'Amboise.

<sup>2</sup> L. Pinvert (*Rev. de la Ren.*, 1902) gives Caron's dates as 1536-1613. The reference here is to *La Poésie de Louis le Caron, Parisien* (Paris: Sertenas, 1554), feuillet 47, recto. The exact reading is:

"Qui vous a ravis aux cieux  
De la divinité telle  
Ronsard, Saint-Gelais, Jodelle,  
Scève, Bellay gracieux,  
Dorat, Muret immortelz."

<sup>3</sup> The author of the work referred to here is Paul Angier (not Augier). If we are to believe Ferdinand Gohin (ed. *Œuvres poétiques* of Antoine Héroët for the Soc. des Textes Fran. Mod., Introduction, pp. xxv-xxvi), Paul Angier was merely a pseudonym for Bertrand de la Borderie. I have not been able to consult a copy of the work, but from what Gohin says of it, Colletet's reference is to the epigram found at the end of the work, where the author declares himself the humble disciple of Marot, Saint-Gelais, Scève, Chappuys, Salel, Rabelais, et autres poètes.

<sup>4</sup> The *Repos de Plus Grand Travail* (Lyon: Jean de Tournes, 1550). This work contains no sonnet resembling the one cited. The first line of a sonnet found on p. 36 is comparable to the one cited above, but there the resemblance ceases. In Son. XIX of the *Amoureux Repos* (Lyon, 1553), Des Autels has a flattering reference to Scève.

<sup>5</sup> *Repos de Plus Grand Travail* (ed. cit.), pp. 8-9. Other references to Scève on pp. 16 and 30.



Voir<sup>1</sup> même je suis bien assuré que c'est de lui dont il parle dans sa réplique aux furieuses défenses de Louis Meigret touchant l'orthographe française, lors qu'après avoir autrefois estimé son stile obscur il se sent obligé par le mérite et par la force de l'ouvrage de ce poète de s'en dédire, ajoutant qu'ayant acquis plus de jugement avec l'age, il ne l'estime plus si obscur qu'elabouré et non vulgaire. Et ensuite il le met au premier rang de nos poètes.<sup>2</sup> Si cette retraction n'est point si flatteuse, jé m'en rapporte à ceux qui connaissent aussi bien que moi les écrits de Maurice Scève.

Guy le Fevre de la Boderie est à peu près en cela du même sentiment de Guillaume des Autels, lorsque dans le cinquième cercle de sa docte Galliade il lui donne de gaieté de cœur cet éloge honorable,

A Sceve au sens profond Pelletier et Thiard  
O Muses, esleves trois colones à part  
Dans le temple divin de votre mère sainte  
Et soit de verd laurier leur docte tête enceinte  
Pour ce qu'ils ont changé en un plus grave ton  
Le son trop demené d'Amour et d'Eraton,  
Sublimes, decorants leur sçavante peinture  
Des hauts secrets du ciel et des faits de nature.<sup>3</sup>

Ce fameux imprimeur Jean de Tournes croyant qu'il ne pouvait mieux reconnaître les travaux d'un poète que par ceux d'un autre grand poète lui dédia les amours de Pétrarque<sup>4</sup> avec une épitre en langue italienne qui a été depuis réimprimée presque dans toutes les éditions de ce grand esprit florentin, et qui fait bien paraître en quelle vénération était alors ce poète lyonnais. Jean de la Fresnaye Vauquelin, dans son premier livre de l'art poétique français témoigne par ces vers la haute estime qu'il faisait des siens,

Mais serait-ce raison qu'à Thiar fut permis  
Comme à Sceve d'avoir tant de mots nouveaux mis  
En France dont il a nostre langue embellie  
Par les vers eslevés de sa haute Délie.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Voir.

<sup>2</sup> *Replique aux Furieuses Défenses de Louis Meigret* (Lyon, 1556), pp. 72-73.

<sup>3</sup> *La Galliade ou de la Revolution des arts et sciences* ... (Paris: Guillaume Chaudière, 1578), p. 125. Colletet misquotes the seventh line, which is "Sublimes, decorans leurs tableaux et peinture."

<sup>4</sup> *Il Petrarca* (Lione: Giovan di Tournes, 1545).

<sup>5</sup> *Art poétique* (Pellissier ed.; Paris: Garnier, 1885), Livre I<sup>er</sup>, ll. 333-36.

L'auteur de l'histoire chronologique des hommes illustres<sup>1</sup> le met en ce rang honorable, et nous présente son portrait. La Croix du Maine,<sup>2</sup> Anthoine du Verdier,<sup>3</sup> Georges Draude<sup>4</sup> et l'auteur du Promptuaire des Livres français ont dans leurs Bibliothèques parlé de lui avec beaucoup de deffERENCE, l'appellant homme docte, grand en savoir, excellent poète et orateur de son tems, grand chercheur de l'antiquité, esprit emerveillable doué d'un grand jugement et plein de singulières inventions; que pourrait-on dire davantage d'Aristote ou d'Homère, de Virgile ou de Ronsard, de l'Arioste ou du Tasse. Et depuis peu d'années Pierre de St. Romuald<sup>5</sup> dans la 3<sup>e</sup> parti de son trésor chronologique et historique parlant de la triomphante entrée du roi Henri 2 en la ville de Lyon dit que ce prince fut merveilleusement loué par les beaux vers de Maurice Scève, l'un des plus doctes et des plus fertiles Poètes de son tems. Antoine du Moulin Masconnais lui dédia enfin sa *phisionomie naturelle*<sup>6</sup> extraite des philosophes anciens imprimée à Lyon l'an 1550 où il le loue entre autres choses d'une profonde erudition et d'une présence d'esprit merveilleuse dans l'histoire ancienne et moderne jusqu'à nommer ses doctes conferences les véritables réponses de l'oracle delphique.

. FIN .

J. C. LYONS

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA

<sup>1</sup> According to Ad. Van Bever (*Les Amours d'Estienne Jodelle* [Paris: Sansot et Cie, 1907], p. 50, n. 2), the author referred to here is Gabriel Michel de la Roche Maillet. His work is *Portraits de plusieurs hommes illustres qui ont flory en France depuis l'an 1500 jusques à present* (no date). I have been unable to consult this work to check the reference to Maurice Scève.

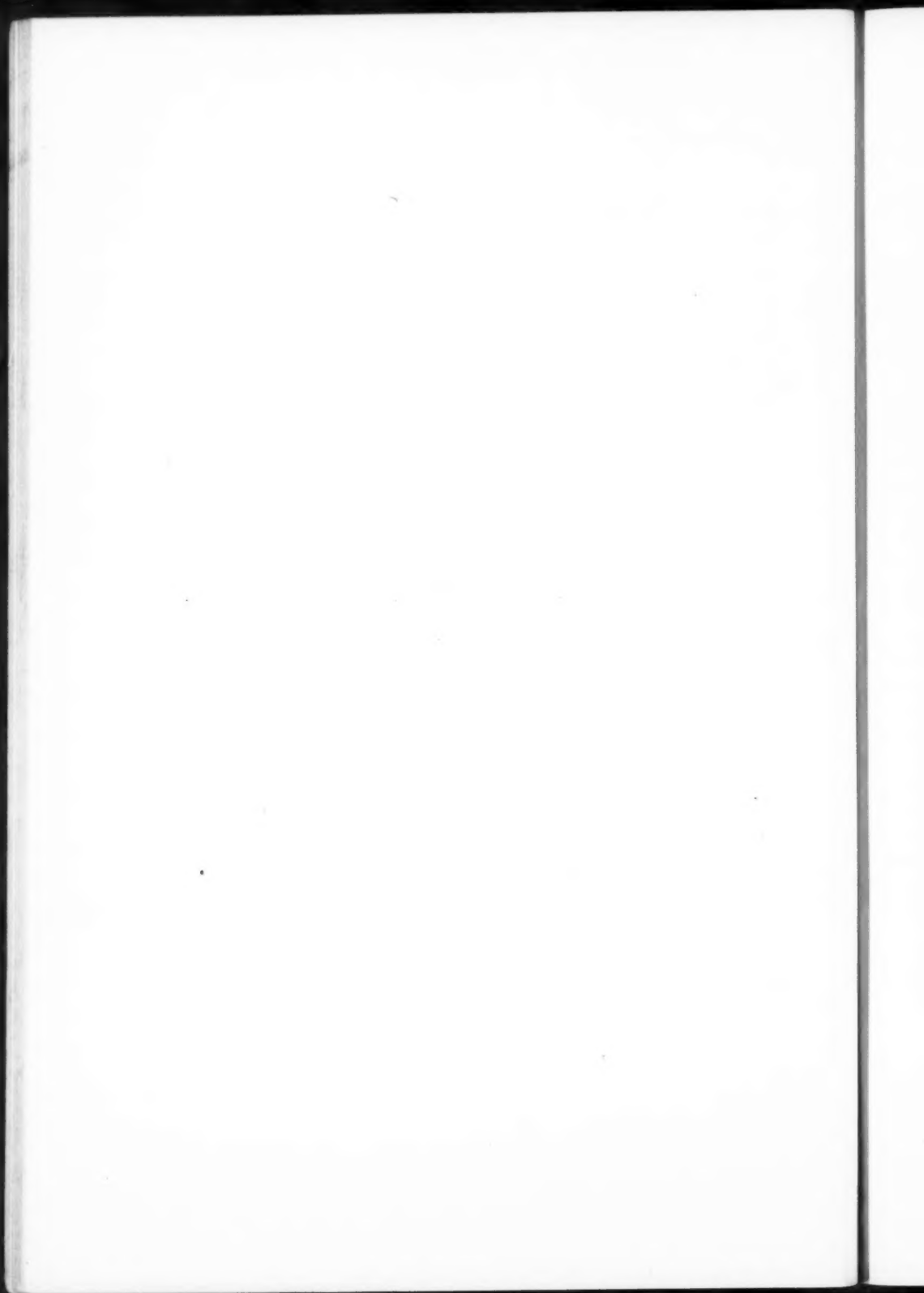
<sup>2</sup> *Bibliothèque françoise* (Paris, 1584), pp. 862-63.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* (Lyon, 1585), pp. 320-21.

<sup>4</sup> *La Bibliothèque universail* (Frankfour: B. Ostern, 1625), p. 198. Draudius simply lists the *Arion*, *Delie*, and the *Saulsaye*. He says nothing in regard to Scève either as a person or as a writer. Colletet is either exaggerating here or else he had never seen the work of Draudius.

<sup>5</sup> *Trésor chronologique et historique ...* (Paris: Sommaville, 1647), Part III, p. 561.

<sup>6</sup> I have been unable to locate any work of this title by Antoine du Moulin in any of the Parisian libraries. Brunet mentions no such work. The nearest approach to it that I have been able to find is a treatise by Du Moulin at the Bibliothèque Nationale, *De Diversa Hominum Natura* (Lyon, 1549). But this work is dedicated to "Francesco Pucio."



## POLITICAL SATIRE IN LONDON STAGE PLAYS, 1680-83

IT HAS long been known that the theaters of London were involved in the intense political activity growing out of the Popish Plot and the Exclusion Bill, in the last years of Charles II's reign.<sup>1</sup> Evidence almost contemporary declares that plays were used "to lash the Dissenters and Whigs, . . . to promote the Glorious Design of Debauching the Nation, and to baffle the Evidence of the Popish Plots."<sup>2</sup> Macaulay's vivid statement is: "The theatres shook with the roar of the contending factions."<sup>3</sup> Such generalizations and the special studies in this field<sup>4</sup> have not established the full extent and the precise quality of political satire in plays acted during the three most critical years, from 1680 to 1683. As a supplement to previous studies I offer a fresh survey of the evidence with emphasis upon new material and accurate chronology.

A brief survey of the political situation will serve as a setting for the political drama in these years. The restoration of Charles II was a compromise. The weapons of absolutism used by Charles I had been destroyed, but Parliament had not yet devised effective restrictions upon the royal prerogative or adequate security for matters ecclesiastical and constitutional. Out of the efforts of Parliament to assert and extend its power and out of the determination of the King to maintain his prerogative against invasion there developed a violent struggle, in the first phase of which the monarchy was victorious, but in the second phase of which parliamentary authority was definitely established. It is with a part of the first phase that the present study is concerned. Students of the period do not need to be reminded of the importance of religious questions. As Leopold von Ranke says,

<sup>1</sup> See Langbaine, *An Account of the English Dramatick Poets* (Oxford, 1691), pp. 93, 163, 447, etc.; *The Stage Condemn'd* . . . (London, 1698), pp. 3-4; Cibber, *Two Dissertations on the Theatres* . . . (London, no date), Appendix, p. 100; Macaulay, *The History of England* . . . (ed. C. H. Firth; London, 1913), I, 243-44; *The Works of John Dryden* (ed. Scott and Saintsbury; Edinburgh, 1883), VII, 1-2.

<sup>2</sup> *The Stage Condemn'd* . . . , p. 3.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 243.

<sup>4</sup> Allardyce Nicoll, "Political Plays of the Restoration," *Modern Language Review*, XVI (1921), 224-42; V. L. Jones, "Methods of Satire in the Political Drama of the Restoration," *Journal of English and German Philology*, XXI (1922), 662-69.

"As the result of the intimate connection which had subsisted from the earliest times between Church and State, religious questions were everywhere, but particularly in England, the very kernel of the political."<sup>1</sup> In 1678, the religious issues were enormously intensified by the revelation of a so-called Popish Plot against the English church and state, and by the prosecution of the plotters. The disclosures created a public panic,<sup>2</sup> and greatly strengthened the power of the opposition. Numerous proclamations against Catholics were published.<sup>3</sup> With the exception of the Duke of York, Catholics were excluded from the House of Lords. In 1679 a bill to exclude the Duke of York, as a papist, from the throne was passed by the Commons; but Parliament was dissolved. In 1680, when the Bill of Exclusion was passed by the Commons, it was rejected by the Lords. Then, in January, 1681, the Commons refused to vote supplies until the Bill should be passed. In the Parliament which met at Oxford in March, 1681, the Commons insisted on passing the Exclusion Bill; but this Parliament was dissolved, and the Bill fell through, for Charles summoned no more Parliaments. Thus, the Popish Plot crystallized public opinion, increased the power of the opposition—especially that of their leader, the Earl of Shaftesbury—and led to the crisis in the Oxford Parliament, in 1681.

Here, evidently, was the turning-point. Before this Parliament the opposition, supported by a widespread fear of Catholicism, was aggressive and powerful. Now came a Tory reaction.<sup>4</sup> Naturally, with time, dread of Jesuit plots abated. Gradually, the policy of the King, to allay public anxiety and to assure the people that his promises to safeguard the Protestant religion were made in good faith, had its effect. But the main cause of the reaction was the public fear of another civil war, a fear that was taken advantage of by the crown in the declaration made after the dissolution of the Oxford Parliament. This declaration, read by order in all the churches, reminded the people of the miseries endured during the commonwealth, when arbitrary and

<sup>1</sup> *A History of England Principally in the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford, 1875), IV, 348.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Calendar of State Papers, "Domestic Series"* (1679-80), p. 21; *Historical Manuscripts Commission, Calendar of the Manuscripts of Ormonde* (N.S.), IV, 233, 245, 276, 473, 480.

See the *London Gazette*, October 31–November 4, 1678; November 18–31, 1678; etc.

<sup>4</sup> See Burnet, *History of His Own Time* (Oxford, 1823), II, 274: "Immediately upon this [the dissolution of the Oxford Parliament] the court took a new ply; and things went in another channel."

illegal powers disposed of their fortunes and their lives, and left them neither property nor religion nor liberty. Supported by public opinion, the court now took decisive measures to discredit and disarm the Whigs. In November, 1681, the Earl of Shaftesbury was indicted on a charge of high treason but was set free. The crown began an attack upon the charters of cities, including that of London. A Tory, Sir John More, was elected lord mayor. The Duke of Monmouth, Whig candidate for the throne, was arrested. Having no recourse to Parliament, and becoming desperate when Tory sheriffs were elected for London, Shaftesbury advocated armed resistance. But neither Russell nor Essex was willing to resort to violence. Deserted by his colleagues, Shaftesbury in November fled to Holland, and there on January 21, 1683, he died.

With the death of Shaftesbury, the Whig campaign disintegrated. In what follows it will be observed that the political drama, somewhat tardily but on the whole quite faithfully, followed and reflected the political issues and situations already sketched. As regards political satire in the theaters, there appear to be from 1680 to 1683 two periods: in 1680 occurred the Whig offensive, with a considerable amount of satire upon Catholics and with some denunciation of incompetent rulers; in 1681 and 1682 occurred the Tory offensive, with emphasis upon the rebellious antecedents and purposes of the Whigs, who frequently were attacked through their leader, Shaftesbury. Tory monopoly of the stage is the outstanding theatrical fact of 1682.

In 1680 the Whig offensive in the theaters began.<sup>1</sup> Of the thirteen new plays produced in that year eight are clearly political. The dramatists responded to the overwhelming interest in politics. The most important issue was Catholicism, ridicule or denunciation of which was the principal theme of four plays, and references to which are made in several others. In two plays the opposition were attacked as rebels. Two plays were suppressed because they assailed the govern-

<sup>1</sup> I have pointed out elsewhere that in 1679 the theaters saw no outburst of political satire and were far from prosperous, and that in 1680 political themes were introduced to increase attendance ("The Condition of the London Theatres," *Modern Philology*, XXV (1927), 195-206). In 1679 there was occasional satire upon Catholics, as in Dryden's *Troilus and Cressida*, Act V, scenes 1, ii (*The Works of John Dryden*, VI, 375, 384) and in Dryden and Lee's *Oedipus*, Act III, scene i (*ibid.*, p. 190). In *The Excommunicated Prince* . . . by William Bedloe there was a definite parallel with the Popish Plot; but this play was, apparently, unacted. On the whole, the stage in 1679 was not rich in political satire.

ment. Classifying anti-Catholic plays unaccompanied by any support of legitimate monarchy as anti-royalist, one finds that the court was represented by three plays and the opposition by five.

The four anti-Catholic plays are Dryden's *The Spanish Friar*, or *the Double Discovery*,<sup>1</sup> Lee's *Caesar Borgia*; *Son of Pope Alexander the Sixth*,<sup>2</sup> Settle's *Female Prelate, Being the History of the Life and Death of Pope Joan*, and *The Coronation of Queen Elizabeth: or, The Downfall of the Pope*. *The Spanish Friar* may be studied as a satire upon Catholicism and as an argument for established authority. The first point needs no argument. Dominic, the friar, is a scoundrel, but a stout champion of the church. Railing against the church is, he says, "a fouler crime than the murder of a thousand kings."<sup>3</sup> Dryden also satirizes the worship of miracles, the avarice of Rome, and the infallible virtues of swearing and lying.<sup>4</sup> That *The Spanish Friar* justifies legitimate monarchy is proved by the serious plot. The usurper, Queen Lenora, is denounced; and civil strife follows the deposition of the lawful king. Bertram, son of a rebel, is the villain; Torrismond, son of the deposed king, is the hero. There is a clear contrast between legitimate and illegitimate monarchy. The former wins, and the play ends with the following warning:

But let the bold conspirator beware,  
For heaven makes princes its peculiar care.

*The Spanish Friar* is a clever appeal to religious prejudice but in no sense a disloyal play.<sup>5</sup>

In *Caesar Borgia*<sup>6</sup> Lee denounced the Roman hierarchy, guilty of almost every conceivable depravity and cruelty. He represents the

<sup>1</sup> Nicoll discusses this play under the year 1681 (*Modern Language Review*, XVI, 233), but the date of acting was 1680 (Nicoll, *A History of Restoration Drama*, p. 360). His statement, "In 1681 the battle was joined in earnest" (*Modern Language Review*, XVI, 233), is misleading. The battle began in 1680.

<sup>2</sup> Nicoll does not mention Lee's play.

<sup>3</sup> Act III, scene i.

<sup>4</sup> Act I, scene i; Act III, scene i. It has been said that the satire was more severe in the first edition (*The Works of John Dryden*, VI, 399).

<sup>5</sup> It should be remarked that Torrismond's arraignment of the queen and arbitrary power (*ibid.*, Act IV, scene ii, pp. 493-94) was omitted from the 1686 edition.

<sup>6</sup> It was published in November, 1679 (*The Term Catalogues* [ed. Arber], I, 370), but apparently not acted in that year (Otto Mehr, *Neue Beiträge zur Leckunde und Kritik* [1908], pp. 3-4). For the objections to the play see the Epilogue, and also the epistle dedicatory to *Rome's Follies* (1681). *Caesar Borgia* was evidently acted after the *Female Prelate* (see the Epilogue to *Caesar Borgia*), i.e., after September, 1680 (Nicoll, *A History of Restoration Drama*, p. 372).



church as served by a choice lot of villains: Ascanio Sforza, the debauched cardinal; Caesar Borgia, proper son of the bloody and unnatural pope; and many others. The play ends with the moral,

No Power is safe, nor no Religion good,  
Whose Principles of growth are laid in Blood.

Unrelieved by humor, *Caesar Borgia* is a violent indictment of Romanism.

Settle's *Female Prelate* was probably the first play avowedly written for the opposition. The play has two aims: in general, to illustrate the degradation of the papacy; and, specifically, to denounce that alleged principle of Catholicism which makes loyalty to the church more binding than loyalty to the nation and which condones and even rewards the murder of heretic rulers. Whigs doubtless accepted Pope Joan as a fair example of popes. Applause must have greeted Duke Saxony's soliloquy after he learns that the bowl wherewith his father was poisoned is to be consecrated:

How senseless is that dull Imperial Head  
That makes his Scepter to the Crosier bow,  
By Heavens he's both a Coward and a Slave.  
Rome's upstart Idol 'bove his Throne he rears,  
And servilely creates the God he fears,  
Down goes his Majesty, and down his Fame,  
Pope is the King, and Monarch but the Name.<sup>1</sup>

More emphatically than other dramatists Settle stressed the supposed political menace of the Roman church.<sup>2</sup>

Probably as influential as the *Female Prelate* was *The Coronation of Queen Elizabeth, With the Restauration of the Protestant Religion: Or, The Downfall of the Pope*, acted at Bartholomew and Southwark fairs in 1680 "with great Applause."<sup>3</sup> The author's purpose, as he explains, was "to lay open the Cruelties and Villanies of Rome, more to the Life, than they had been exposed since the beginning of this late Hor-

<sup>1</sup> Act I, scene 1, p. 19 of the 1680 edition.

<sup>2</sup> In connection with the *Female Prelate*, the following notice in the *Domestick Intelligence, Or News both from City and Country*, December 19, 1679, is of interest: "This being the time of the year for the Schools to break up, some young Scholars of a Latin School in Cannon-Street, to shew their Detestation and Abhorrence of Popery and Slavery, Acted upon Wednesday night last the History of Pope Joan, or a Discovery of the Debaucheries and Villanies of the Popish Faction; which was entertained with great Applause of many Hundred Spectators there present."

<sup>3</sup> From the title-page of the 1680 edition.

rid and most Barbarous Plot," and to celebrate the "Noble Exploits and Victories, of that blest Queen, who maugred all the Plots and dire Conspiracies of Rome, to the last moment of her long and prosperous Reign."<sup>1</sup> Briefly, the plot is as follows. Queen Elizabeth banishes from her court all who acknowledge the supremacy of the pope. Two cardinals plot to destroy the heretic queen. The rabble meet to celebrate her coronation, and to revile the pope, who under the name of religion commits all villainies. To the Roman conclave, rejoicing in Mary's persecutions, is announced Mary's death and the accession of Elizabeth. The conclave resolves to root out heresy and to murder the queen. To the devil they give a warrant for her death, the pope saying,

For to promote Religion naught's withstood,  
Empires must fall, and Kingdoms set in Blood.<sup>2</sup>

Two assassins hired to kill the queen quarrel, she escapes, and the assassins are arrested. Meanwhile, a cardinal who has discovered the pope's sin is stabbed; and the pope, taking the devil's advice, fills his purse and flees from Rome. The devil, as master, now leads in the pope, and the opening of a scene shows hell full of devils, popes, and cardinals. A song relates the pope's sins; and then the rabble, after beating the pope well, haul him away to Temple-Bar to be sacrificed. Elizabeth commends her loyal subjects and recognizes God's blessings. The farce ends with a dance.<sup>3</sup>

Next to claim attention are two plays that attacked the opposition. In Otway's *The Souldier's Fortune*, the ridicule is subordinate and conventional. The intrigue of Captain Beaugard and Lady Dunce occupies the foreground. But the abuse of Sir Davy Dunce, a commonwealth's man, who is much concerned because idolatry is coming in full speed and who is more loyal to the lord mayor than to the king, is not to be ignored. Two other factious characters, a former committeeman and sequestrator and a worm-eaten "Caseputter," cross the stage in Act II. Politically, Crowne's *The Misery of Civil-War* is

<sup>1</sup> See the address "To the Protestant Reader," signed "J. D."

<sup>2</sup> Act I, scene iii.

<sup>3</sup> The resemblance between this farce and the pope-burning pageants on November 17, the anniversary of Elizabeth's accession, will be observed (see Dryden's Prologue to Southerne's *The Loyal Brother*; *Rozburghe Ballads*, II, No. 292; the *True Domestic Intelligence*, November 21, 1679; the *Loyal Protestant and True Domestic Intelligence*, November 19, 1681).

more important than Otway's play. In this version of *Henry the Sixth, Part III*, Crowne has magnified the horrors of civil war and has proclaimed obedience to lawful authority a sacred duty. In Act I he introduces, from *Henry the Sixth, Part II*, Cade's rebellion; and in Act III he has an original scene showing soldiers plundering the countryside. This accumulation of the evils of civil war distinguishes Crowne's play. It is probably the most important loyal play of 1680.<sup>1</sup>

Two anti-court plays, Lee's *Lucius Junius Brutus; Father of his Country* and Tate's *The History of King Richard the Second*, were produced in 1680, but were almost immediately suppressed. In *Lucius Junius Brutus* the lines on the immorality of Tarquin may have been interpreted as a reflection upon Charles II.<sup>2</sup> According to others, the play was condemned because there was in it too much talk of freedom.<sup>3</sup> Brutus denounces the king's tyranny, enlists the people in the cause of liberty, drives out the tyrant, defends the commonwealth against its enemies, and finally sacrifices his own sons to the liberty of Rome. The people are admirable. Although their wrongs have been many and grievous, they are not eager for revenge.<sup>4</sup> This play, which boldly insisted upon the rights of the common man and which even justified rebellion in a good cause, was no doubt vastly popular with the Whigs and was properly regarded as dangerous propaganda.

Tate's *The History of King Richard the Second*, which was acted under the name of the *Sicilian Usurper*, was also prohibited.<sup>5</sup> In the epistle to Raynsford, in the 1681 edition, Tate takes great pains to defend himself from the suspicion of having written a "Disloyal and Reflecting" play, and protests that he had as "little designs of Satyr on present Transactions, as Shakespear himself that wrote this Story before this Age began." Tate then explains in detail how he has elevated the

<sup>1</sup> The Epilogue is very severe upon commonwealth men. And the Prologue to Mrs. Behn's *The Rover, Or The Banish'd Cavaliers, Part II* (1680), ridicules those who would play the old game again.

<sup>2</sup> See Fritz Resa, *Prolegomena zu Nathaniel Lees Theodosius* (Rudolstadt, 1903), p. 11; and Act I of the play.

<sup>3</sup> Colley Cibber, *An Apology for the Life of Mr. Colley Cibber* (London, 1740), p. 283; Gildon's Preface to *The Patriot* (1703), an adaptation of this play. *Lucius Junius Brutus* was acted six days and then prohibited (*The Term Catalogues* [ed. Arber], I, 451).

<sup>4</sup> On this point cf. Lee's play with Mlle de Scudery's *Clélie*, and see Otto Auer, *Ueber einige Dramen Nathaniel Lees mit besonderer Berücksichtigung seiner Beziehung zum französischen heroisch-galanten Roman* (Berlin, 1904), p. 80.

<sup>5</sup> A. Nicoll, *A History of Restoration Drama*, p. 10 n. The order of suppression is dated December 14, 1680, three days later than that of *Lucius Junius Brutus*.

character of Richard II, whom Shakespeare painted in the worst colors of history; he insists that "Every Scene is full of Respect to Majesty and the Dignity of Courts" and that every page "breaths Loyalty." In spite of all this, the play was "Silenc'd on the Third Day." One must say that Tate's changes are trifling. He did not succeed in appreciably altering the character of the king, and the plot is practically unchanged. He retains at least one passage denouncing the corruption of the court;<sup>1</sup> and at a critical point he substitutes for the word "Italy" the word "France." When one considers the dependence of the English court upon France, which to the Whigs stood for popery and arbitrary power, Tate's substitution becomes a matter of importance. It is significant that at the trial of Shaftesbury in 1681 a witness testified that Shaftesbury had once declared that the King deserved as much to be deposed as had Richard II.<sup>2</sup> It is possible that this play had some share in establishing the comparison.

To sum up, the theaters in 1680 witnessed a marked development of political satire. Anti-Catholic plays were, naturally, the most numerous and apparently the most popular. Faction-mongers and civil wars were denounced. For a few nights immoral tyrants and corrupt courts were held up to scorn, but these plays were soon stifled. Only under the guise of satire upon Catholics was the opposition permitted for any length of time to attack the court. In the theaters, the struggle of the political groups was from the first not upon equal terms. The sequel will show how great an advantage the court enjoyed.

In 1681, the court, as has been said, moved against the Whigs. Very shrewdly Charles II had waited until the fear of Catholicism had abated. Very wisely he now appealed to the deep-seated dread of a renewal of civil war. Though Catholicism remained an important issue, it now became subordinate to the question of the established order in church and state, which the King was determined to maintain. Under these conditions, it is not surprising that the theaters in 1681 were strongly Tory. Satire upon the Whigs was welcomed by the government, anxious to use every weapon against its foes. Six new plays distinctly political were acted in 1681. Of these D'Urfey's *Sir Barnaby Whigg*, Mrs. Behn's *The Round-Heads; Or, The Good Old*

<sup>1</sup> Act II, p. 13 of the 1681 edition.

<sup>2</sup> *An Account at Large, of the Proceedings at The Sessions-House In the Old Bayly, on the 24 of November, 1681 . . .* (British Museum, Press Mark 515.1.2 [55]).

*Cause*, Tate's *The Ingratitude of a Commonwealth*, and Ravenscroft's *The London Cuckolds* were loyal. Crowne's *Henry the Sixth, Part I* was anti-Catholic and was suppressed. Shadwell's *The Lancashire Witches* was so cut by the censor that its essential character was lost. In 1681, then, the Tories took the offensive in the theaters.<sup>1</sup>

Mrs. Behn's *The Round-Heads* is based upon John Tatham's *The Rump*, but introduces important new characters and material. The new characters are Ananias Goggle, a lay elder of the "Saints," and the three Cavaliers, Loveless, Freeman, and Lady Desbro'. Mrs. Behn attacks the commonwealth and the Dissenters, adding a scene which shows the Committee of Safety in their cups, and in which Lambert sings a song applying to the eighties.<sup>2</sup> Since *The Rump* has very little religious satire except in the character Woodfleet, the ridicule of the Dissenters is Mrs. Behn's contribution. Here are found some of her most telling strokes. The vice and the treason of the "Saints" are summed up in the character of Ananias Goggle.<sup>3</sup> *The Round-Heads* effectively dramatizes the theme that the Whigs intended through civil war to restore the commonwealth.<sup>4</sup>

In D'Urfey's *Sir Barnaby Whigg* the political satire is directed, not primarily at the commonwealth, but at the contemporary Whig, who in the person of Sir Barnaby is represented as greedy, cowardly, and traitorous. If, Sir Barnaby declares, "our soul-saving Party does not settle the Nation . . . old Antichrist will have your Lands and Bodies, and the Devil your Souls." All would be well if his faction were in control. Alarmed, however, for his safety, he deserts his friends. His avarice brings about his ruin, for his plans to betray the city to the Turks are revealed, and he is led away to prison and execution.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In the article mentioned (p. 234) Nicoll dates *The Round-Heads* incorrectly, and fails to mention *The Ingratitude of a Commonwealth* and *Henry the Sixth, Part I*. His statement, "1682 saw a turn in the tide. The court party were now in the ascendant," is incorrect. The tide turned in 1681.

<sup>2</sup> Act IV, scene ii.

<sup>3</sup> Ananias is Titus Oates, the most notorious witness for the Plot. See the Prologue of the *City Heiress*, where Oates is characterized as "silken Doctor home-spun Ananias."

<sup>4</sup> See the Prologue, spoken by the ghost of Hewson, the regicide, who ascends from hell to recall the success of "Forty-one" and to urge the hiring of new villains for the "Cause."

<sup>5</sup> It may be that Sir Barnaby was intended to be a stage caricature of the Earl of Shaftesbury (see *Shakespeare Adaptations* [ed. Montague Summers; London, 1923], p. lxxv).

Though amours and cuckolding are the mainstay of *The London Cuckolds*, the political bearing of the play should not be overlooked. As the Epilogue says, "Every Cuckold is a Cit," and the Tories have no horns. For example, the scrivener is a "Trudging, Drudging, CORMUDGING, Petitioning Citizen" who by law and knavery has acquired wealth. But Ravenscroft does not emphasize the political activities of the citizens. The play is a bedroom farce with political trimmings.

Like several contemporary adaptations of Shakespeare, Tate's *The Ingratitude of a Commonwealth; Or, The Fall of Caius Martius Coriolanus* has political bearing. In the Dedication Tate says that in some passages of Shakespeare he saw "no small Resemblance with the busie Faction" of his own time, and that he tried to emphasize the parallel. His intention was, he says, to show the miseries resulting from submission to demagogues, and to recommend obedience to established authority. Tate's alteration was not radical. His mob is as fickle as Shakespeare's, his Coriolanus as patriotic and arrogant, his tribunes as self-seeking. In the first four acts he makes no essential change. The one passage in which he has stressed the parallel is that in which Coriolanus depicts the tribunes, not as Romans, but as Puritan leaders of the Whigs.<sup>1</sup> Tate may claim a large share of Act V. In Shakespeare, Coriolanus' family is spared. In Tate, they run mad or are killed. By piling horrors upon his hero's head Tate would make more pathetic the end of this victim of the commonwealth.<sup>2</sup>

In 1681 anti-Catholic plays were not favored by the court. Crowne's *Henry the Sixth, Part I*, was prohibited. *Rome's Follies; or The Amorous Friars* was not acted in public. *The Lancashire Witches* was severely cut, though Teague, the Irish priest, remained. In the Dedication of *Henry the Sixth*, Crowne severely criticizes Shakespeare's cardinal, who is "duller than ever priest was." The play is intended to expose the follies of the papists. Into the scene dealing with the sham cure of Simpcox, Crowne introduces an abbot and friars, who

<sup>1</sup> Act III, scene 1, p. 27 of the 1682 edition.

<sup>2</sup> At the inauguration of Sir John Moore as lord mayor, October 29, 1681, the pageant devised by Thomas Jordan emphasized the dangers of civil war, reminded the mayor that in the city he was the representative of the king, and warned him to suppress all seditious clubs and contentious pamphlets. A song declares

"Divisions are base,  
And of Lucifer's race;  
Civil wars from the bottom of Hell come."

Taken from *London's Joy, or, The Lord Mayor's Show; Triumphantly Exhibited in Various Representations, Scenes, and splendid Ornaments . . .* (London, 1681).

hail the reputed miracle. The cardinal recognizes the fraud but puts on a grave look of faith. Crowne's emphasis upon the cardinal's share in the murder of Gloucester is significant. Crowne's cardinal urges the murderers on to the deed, and only in Crowne do the murderers see the cardinal when fear and guilt have driven him insane, and taunt him with his boasted infallibility.<sup>1</sup> Under the circumstances, it is not strange that this play was suppressed.<sup>2</sup>

According to the Dedication, *Rome's Follies* "never run the Risk of an hiss on either of the Theatres." It was acted at a "Person of Qualitie's House."<sup>3</sup> The Prologue refers to the difficulty of having anti-Catholic plays produced. Before a Whig audience, this timely farce should have been a great success. The pope boasts of his power and violently hates heretic England. He is comforted because his agents there are plotting, burning, and murdering. At the end the ghost of Pope Joan denounces the papacy for blotting her out of the calendar and predicts the ruin of the corrupt church.

Shadwell's *The Lancashire Witches* has the distinction of being the only Whig play allowed in 1681—and then only after wholesale excisions which removed practically all of the satire upon high-churchmen. The parts stricken out by the Master of the Revels are scenes or parts of scenes in which Smerk, the insolent, popish chaplain of Sir Edward Hartfort, appeared as counselor to his master, suitor to Isabella, friend of the Irish priest, believer not in the Popish Plot but a Presbyterian plot, would-be persecutor of Dissenters, and potential convert to Romanism. Smerk represented a considerable group of Tories. It is not strange that Shadwell's ridicule of this group was removed from the play. It is difficult, however, to understand why the censor allowed so much of Teague's rôle, for through Teague Shadwell attacked the Catholic church. A formidable demonstration against the acting of *The Lancashire Witches* is an illustration of the opposition that political plays encountered at this time.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In Act IV of Crowne's *Thyestes* (1681) priests are denounced, and the Epilogue declares that pagan and popish priests are the "same bloody beasts."

<sup>2</sup> See Nicoll, *A History of Restoration Drama*, p. 10 n.; and Crowne's Dedication to *The English Prier* (1690).

<sup>3</sup> The Dedication also mentions the cold entertainment offered *The Lancashire Witches* and the difficulty of getting *Caesar Borgia* acted.

<sup>4</sup> See the address "To the Reader" in *The Works of Thomas Shadwell* (London, 1720), III, 215-19; and *The Complete Works of Thomas Shadwell* (ed. Montague Summers; London, 1927), IV, 99-100.



It appears, then, that with one exception, and not taking into account revivals, Tory plays dominated the stage in 1681. The censorship was so strict that as a rule even anti-Catholic plays were not allowed. The Whigs were practically excluded from the boards; but the court dramatists were allowed a free hand. From the Whig point of view, conditions in the next year were, if possible, worse than in 1681. In 1682 royalist plays monopolized the theaters. The court dramatists were unrestrained in their abuse of the Whigs and, especially, of their leader, Shaftesbury. Rebellion is the unifying theme of the seven political plays produced in 1682.

D'Urfey's *The Royalist*, contrasting the extravagantly loyal King-love with the rebels Oliver Oldcut, Paul Eitherside, and Captain Jones, is dedicated to those who remember "the fatal Scene of Boscabell," the hiding place of Charles II after the battle of Worcester.<sup>1</sup> The first act includes an apostrophe to the royal oak which concealed the king from the "Barb'rous rage of Regicides." The satire on the commonwealth is found mainly in three scenes: that in which Oldcut and Jones rejoice in the commonwealth, in which there is neither conscience nor religion; that in which Jones, as a Jesuit, offers to betray Oldcut; and that in which the wild rumors, the bickerings, and the treasons of coffee-houses are ridiculed. D'Urfey's eye was on contemporary conditions and characters.

Shaftesbury is satirized in Mrs. Behn's *The City Heiress; Or, Sir Timothy Treat-all*.<sup>2</sup> The application to Shaftesbury is suggested first in the Prologue by ridicule of the "Sham-Treat," a great feast planned for April 21, 1682, with Monmouth, Shaftesbury, Essex, and others expected.<sup>3</sup> In a number of ways Sir Timothy resembles Shaftesbury. Sir Timothy's relations with the city were close, and so, of course, were Shaftesbury's.<sup>4</sup> Like Shaftesbury, Sir Timothy when accused comes off *Ignoramus*.<sup>5</sup> Wilding reports that the Polanders have elected

<sup>1</sup> See David Hume, *The History of England* . . . (New York, 1879), V, 337-38; and *The Boscobel Tracts* (ed. J. Hughes; 2d ed., 1857).

<sup>2</sup> The Prologue refers to Oates, "home-spun Ananias," now fixed in the city, where he continues to fill the "Hells of Fools with Politicks."

<sup>3</sup> *The Roxburghe Ballads*, V, 145-47.

<sup>4</sup> *Calendar of State Papers, "Domestic Series"* (1675-76), pp. 159-61.

<sup>5</sup> Act III, scene I.



Sir Timothy their next king; and there was an idea that Shaftesbury wanted the Polish crown.<sup>1</sup> The robbers find in Sir Timothy's house among treasonable papers "a new-fashion'd Oath of Abjuration, call'd the Association"; Shaftesbury was a member of the Association.<sup>2</sup> In short, every spectator must have identified Sir Timothy with Shaftesbury.

The burlesque of Shaftesbury in Otway's *Venice Preserv'd*; Or, *A Plot Discover'd* is well known. He is satirized as the senile lover of Aquilina and as an orator engaged in the prosecution of the plot. The burlesque speaking applies to Shaftesbury, who was called the spokesman of the Whigs.<sup>3</sup> It is quite possible that the satire upon Shaftesbury was introduced at the request of Charles II.<sup>4</sup> The argument that Shaftesbury is also to be identified with the lewd conspirator Renault is not quite convincing.<sup>5</sup> It is improbable that the audience would have recognized Shaftesbury in Renault as well as in Antonio. Two identifications would inevitably be very confusing. As to the conspirators, they are probably not meant to suggest those involved in the alleged Popish Plot. It was not policy for the loyal dramatists to emphasize the dangers of the Plot, but to ignore or ridicule it, as Otway does in the Prologue to this play. On the other hand, Otway probably implies that the opposition to the court is as unprincipled as the conspirators in the tragedy.<sup>6</sup> It is understood, of course, that a part of Parliament is included in the opposition; and this accounts for Otway's satirical treatment of the Venetian senate.

Shaftesbury is again satirized in Southerne's *The Loyal Brother: Or, The Persian Prince*, in which Ismael, the fallen favorite kept under by Tachmas, the king's brother, is, of course, the Earl. Ismael plots against both Tachmas and the king, and when exposed goes to the

*The Poetical Works of John Dryden* (ed. Christie), p. 123.

<sup>2</sup> W. D. Christie, *A Life of . . . Shaftesbury*, II, 442-43.

<sup>3</sup> See *Venice Preserv'd*, Act III, scene 1; Act IV, scene ii; Act V, scene 1; J. Pollock, *The Popish Plot*, pp. 226-28; W. D. Christie, *op. cit.*, II, 283.

<sup>4</sup> See *The Orphan and Venice Preserved*, "Belles-Lettres Series" (ed. C. F. McClumpha; Boston, 1908), p. xxxv.

<sup>5</sup> J. R. Moore, "Contemporary Satire in Otway's *Venice Preserved*," *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XLIII (1928), 166-81, studies in detail the political bearing of the play and offers some evidence to show that Renault is a "serious satire" on Shaftesbury.

<sup>6</sup> Genest, *Some Account of the English Stage*, I, 353.

city to incite the people to rebellion. His plots fail and he is condemned to death.<sup>1</sup>

Although, according to the Prologue, *Romulus and Hersilia: Or, The Sabine War* was written before the days of Whig and Tory, an obvious attempt is made to read a contemporary lesson into the story of Tarpeia's betrayal of Rome. After admitting the enemy, Tarpeia fights valiantly in aid of Roman victory, and finally atones for her suicide. In the Epilogue she confesses that neither remorse nor death can expiate her crime of treason.

The loyal dramatists were careful to represent the Whigs as non-conformists in religion as well as anti-monarchical. In 1682 the political "Saint" was anatomized in *Mr. Turbulent: Or, The Melancholicks*. Turbulent rails against the court, the king, the church. He loves to speak treason privately. At his house meet "Anabaptists, Visioners, Quakers, Hypocrites, Cheats, and Fools of all Sorts." Furies, dragons, and wild bulls are not as dangerous as these people. In "Betlem," finally, the leaders are cured, and Turbulent disowns all fanatic factions.

Dryden and Lee's *The Duke of Guise* is one of the best-known political plays of this time. The intention of the authors was to "make the play a parallel betwixt the Holy League, plotted by the House of Guise and its adherents, with the Covenant plotted by the rebels in the time of King Charles I and those of the New Association, which was the spawn of the old Covenant." Dryden insists: "Never was there a plainer parallel than the troubles of France and Great Britain; of their leagues, covenants, associations, and ours; of their Calvinists and our Presbyterians: they are all of the same family." He is careful to point out that the play is not a parallel of "the men, but of the times; a parallel of the factions."<sup>2</sup> But his enemies insisted that Henry III of the play represented Charles II; the Duke of Guise, Monmouth; and

<sup>1</sup> It has been said that in Banks's *Vertue Betray'd; Or, Anna Bullen* Shaftesbury was caricatured as an unhistorical Cardinal Wolsey (*The Works of Aphra Behn* [ed. Montague Summers; London, 1915], II, 198). There is little evidence for this assertion. Both Prologue and Epilogue insist that the play is not partisan. Wolsey does and says nothing to suggest that he is a caricature of Shaftesbury. Before she is led to execution, Anna prophesies that her daughter will live to free her from reproach and to destroy the "holy Tyrant" who sets his feet upon the necks of kings. *Vertue Betray'd* is a Protestant play, not an attack upon Shaftesbury, the champion of Protestantism.

<sup>2</sup> *The Works of John Dryden* (ed. Scott and Saintsbury), VII, 155.

the Duke of Navarre, the Duke of York. This parallel of persons made trouble for the authors. The Lord Chamberlain had the play brought before him, but after a long examination allowed the play, which was accordingly acted. The Whigs were enraged by the parallel between seditious Paris and London, by the abuse of the sheriffs of London, by severe criticism of Parliament, by reference to the loss of the city charter, and by ridicule of the nonconformists. *The Duke of Guise* was indeed a broadside fired at the whole Whig party, and deservedly met the most determined opposition.<sup>1</sup>

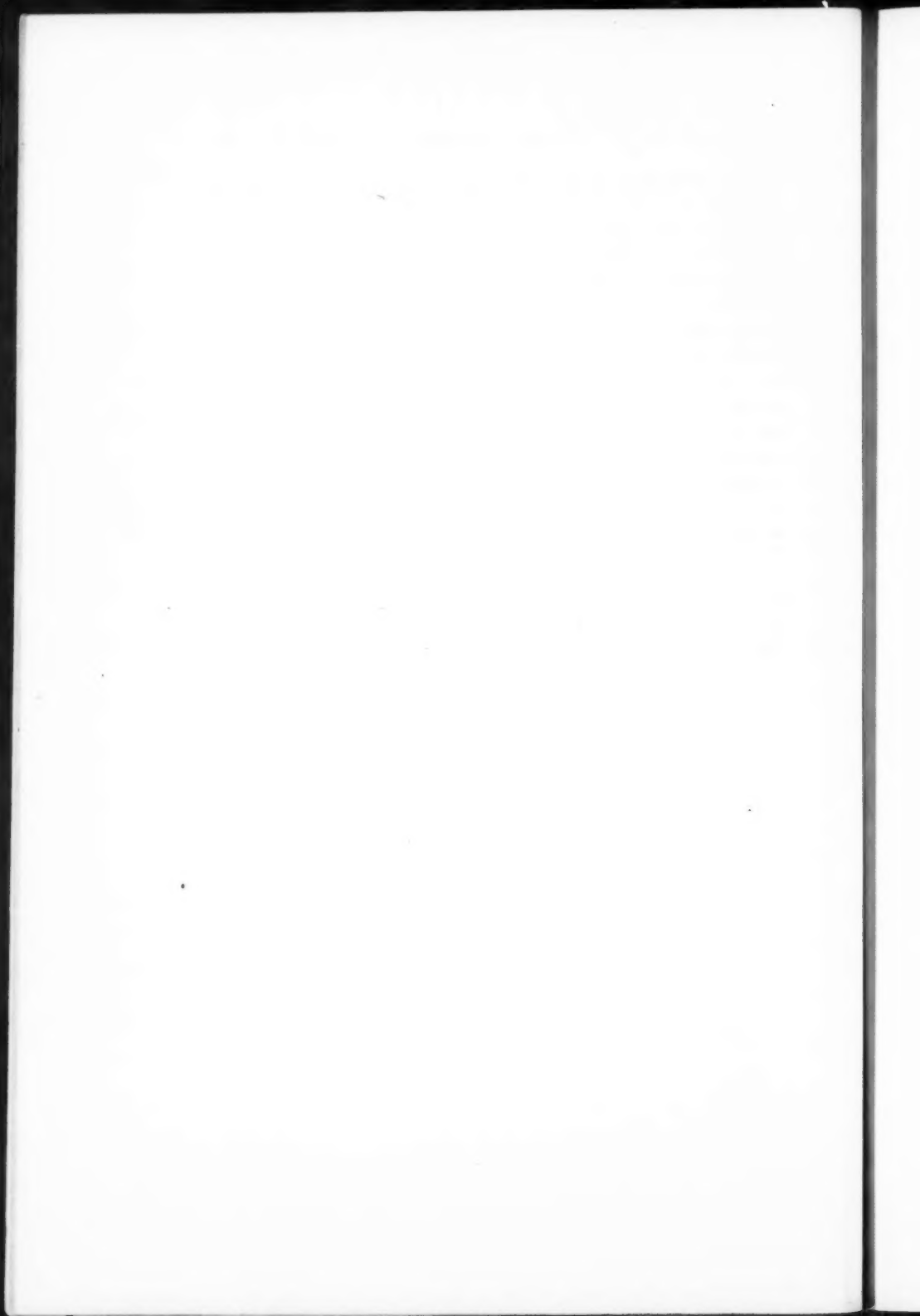
Tory monopoly of the stage is, thus, the outstanding theatrical fact of 1682. After this year, with the passing of the crisis, political plays fell off sharply. The next three years witnessed only three political satires on the stage: Crowne's *City Politiques* (1683), his *Sir Courtly Nice* (1685), and Dryden's *Albion and Albanius* (1685), the last two acted after the death of Charles II.

This study has sketched the political activity of the London theaters from 1680 to 1683. A number of plays have been added to earlier lists. It has been definitely shown that purposeful political activity of the theaters began in 1680, one year earlier than was previously assumed. It has been proved that the Whigs enjoyed a leadership in one year only, in 1680, and then only by anti-Catholic plays; and that then the court dramatists, aided by the censorship, took control and overwhelmed the Whigs. For two years the court enjoyed a virtual monopoly of the political drama. This fact, together with the official alteration or almost instant suppression of all plays considered dangerous, proves that in these years the stage was not a negligible political force.

GEORGE W. WHITING

THE RICE INSTITUTE

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 172-73.



## THE FIRST ENGLISH PERIODICAL FOR WOMEN

THE first English magazine for women made its appearance in the last decade of the seventeenth century. It did not have a proper birth and christening but came into the world in a hole-and-corner sort of fashion that has prevented its legitimacy being recognized ever since. Nor did the somewhat nondescript waif grow up to achieve a decorous and edifying career. Indeed, its descendants, grown rich and respectable, may well blush to own their ancestry. But since the recorded frailties of an ancestor sufficiently remote prove at least that one is no parvenu, the following account may serve to establish the seventeenth-century origin of the periodical for women and to fasten its paternity on a well-known literary figure.

Everyone who has attempted any study of the manners and ideas of London bourgeois life at the end of the seventeenth century knows John Dunton's *Athenian Mercury*. Everyone who has tried to find some starting-point for the history of the English literary periodical has found his way back to its varied pages.<sup>1</sup> But although the popularity of this publication has been acclaimed by Dunton's biographers, and its importance as a forerunner of much more famous works has been duly chronicled, no one seems to have pointed out that it grew steadily more and more dependent upon feminine favor for its popularity, and that it became, by the second year of its existence, virtually a ladies' magazine. It may be, therefore, of some significance to indicate the growing dependence of the *Athenian Mercury* upon a new group of women readers, and to show that for this group Dunton ventured, in 1693, a short-lived periodical called the *Ladies Mercury*, a publication which no one seems to have attributed to him.<sup>2</sup>

Not only as an editor, ready to increase his circulation, but as an amorous devotee of the ladies, Dunton was conscious that many

<sup>1</sup> See John Griffith Ames, *The English Literary Periodical of Morals and Manners* (Mt. Vernon, Ohio, 1924); George S. Marr, *The Periodical Essayists of the Eighteenth Century* (New York, 1924); Kenneth Brown, *A Study of the English Literary Periodicals, 1700-1742* (unpublished thesis, Harvard University Library, 1924).

<sup>2</sup> Mr. T. M. Hatfield, who has reinvestigated the career of John Dunton, does not mention the *Ladies Mercury* (unpublished dissertation, Harvard University Library, 1926). Dunton himself does not speak of it among his "Projects."

members of what he called the "fair sex" existed among London's half-million people. In the affairs of this sex the enterprising bookseller had always shown a tender interest. He knew the tastes that prompted much of their reading; he knew the vogue of that enormous crop of short and long stories—they can scarcely be called novels—which from 1670 on fed the sentimental interests of women newly come into the ranks of readers.<sup>1</sup> He realized also that on the fringe of this group were others, humbler and even less discriminating, who might be added by an ingenious publisher to his list of patrons.

Dunton made his first attack upon these prospective readers in the thirteenth number of the *Athenian Mercury* (that of May 5, 1691) with the statement: "A Gentlemen, having lately proposed several questions relating to Love and Marriage, it seems best to oblige the Fair Sex and him, and answer 'em all here together."<sup>2</sup> Thereupon fifteen questions and their answers follow, all designed to convey to curious readers the "proper" method of conduct in weighty matters of the heart. Although this gesture toward the fair sex was somewhat disguised by the statement that a gentleman had proposed the questions, it is evident that Dunton was casting calculating glances toward female readers, and suggesting that amusement as well as profit was to be had in the columns of the *Athenian Mercury*. To make his intention unequivocally clear he added an announcement at the end of the paper: "We have received this week a very ingenious letter from a lady in the country who desires to know whether her Sex might not send us questions as well as men; to which we answer, Yes, they may, our design being to answer all manner of Questions sent by either sex."

After several issues of the *Mercury* filled with miscellaneous questions and answers had appeared, the attack upon this new body of readers was followed up. The issue of May 23 announced: "The Several Questions lately sent us by a Young Gentlewoman shall be here answered all together, according to our Promise in our last *Mercury*."<sup>3</sup> The "young gentlewoman" had curious tastes, for this paper, after dealing at length with the inquiry "Whether Beauty be real or imagi-

<sup>1</sup> Charlotte E. Morgan, *The Rise of the Novel of Manners* (New York, 1911).

<sup>2</sup> *Athenian Mercury*, Vol. I, No. 13, Tuesday, May 5, 1691.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 18, Saturday, May 23, 1691. After the third number the *Athenian Mercury* was issued twice a week, on Tuesdays and Saturdays.

nary," is filled with such queries as: "Whether it be lawful to look with pleasure on another woman than one's wife?" "Why are children oftener like the Father than the Mother?" "Whether an army of women would not conquer an army of men?" One question is abbreviated, for the sake of decency, apparently, with the comment—"The Lady who sent it knows the rest of the question." In the midst of this heterogeneous collection appeared an inquiry destined to have a long career in the pages of magazines for women: "Whether it be proper for women to be learned?" The little essay that gives the answer to this question represents the earliest attempt on the part of a periodical to deal with this vexing matter, and, indeed, may well be regarded as the initial appearance of the periodical essay.

This evidence of interest on the part of the *Athenian Mercury* in the minds of feminine readers was immediately followed by an "Advertisement" informing the public that whereas the questions received from the fair sex were both pressing and numerous, the editor, "knowing that they have a very strong party in the world, and being willing to oblige 'em," has resolved to set apart *the first Tuesday in every month* to satisfy their inquiries.

With the second volume of the *Mercury*, the editor's desire for female favor was more openly confessed. First of all, a significant change took place in the title-page of the paper. Whereas it had been the *Athenian Gazette*;<sup>1</sup> or, *Casuistical Mercury: resolving all the most nice and curious questions proposed by the Ingenious*, the words of *Either Sex* were now added to its subtitle. Next, in accordance with his promise made in the last number of the first volume,<sup>2</sup> Dunton began to set aside the first Tuesday in every month for the fair sex, reminding his readers, on June 3, of this plan, and acknowledging their prompt appreciation of his earlier efforts: "We have in this paper made good our promise and shall continue to do so from time to time,

<sup>1</sup> Dunton called the first issue of his paper the *Athenian Gazette*. With the second issue it became the *Athenian Mercury*, "to oblige authority." The volumes, however, continued to be called the *Athenian Gazette*, although the individual papers were headed the *Athenian Mercury* (reason given in No. 12, Saturday, May 2, 1691).

<sup>2</sup> This volume consisted of eighteen *Mercuries*, issued periodically, plus twelve others published at one time, and bound up with the eighteen to form a volume of thirty numbers. This was Dunton's procedure until Vol. VI; with Vol. VII all thirty of the *Mercuries* were dated and issued periodically. In the earlier volumes, No. 18 bore the last date of the volume, and the first issue of the following volume bore the date immediately following that. For example, No. 18, Vol. I, bears the date May 23; the first number in Vol. II is dated May 26.

the former papers of this nature having been favorably received, as appears by many Letters lately sent us on that subject."

Gallantry was given its opportunity with the first question in this issue, for someone, most opportunely, wanted to know, "Whether the authors of the *Athenian Mercury* are not Batchelors, they speak so obligingly of the Fair Sex."

If they are not Batchelors [came the ready reply], they are Gentlemen and all who pretend to that name have ever treated women with that respect and tenderness which their Beauty or at least their Sex deserves. . . . We owe the Happiness of Society, the Defence of Nations, . . . nay, even the continuance of the World, . . . to that Sex whom we are so willing to oblige.

After this flourish the editor reverted to plain prose and added, with a touch of humor, that the real reason for the "obliging" conduct of the Authors of the *Athenian Mercury* might be found in the advertisement at the end of No. 18—an advertisement that promised to oblige the ladies with a monthly *Mercury* because it was evident that they had "a very strong party in the world." And what better reason has any vendor of magazines ever needed for being obsequious to a reading group!

This introductory article (with its compliments to "The Fair") was followed by such questions as "How ought a Husband to behave himself toward his wife who notoriously violates the Honour of the Marriage-Bed?" "Whether from the present carriage of the Female Sex we may not judge we are bantered into a Belief of their being Angels?" "Whether Marriage be of divine right or only a political institution?" More extended entertainment was offered in the consideration of a suppositional case:

A person having loved a lady for some time, and made publick Profession of it, till he found himself lov'd again, after which finding his Passion decay and his Esteem wholly vanish, whether is he not obliged by the Laws of Generosity and Justice rather to make known his change as handsomely as he can, than to marry and run the hazard of making both miserable.

The editor decides, in answer to this, that "'Tis better to discover such change to the lady," and suggests that perhaps the handsomest way of breaking the matter to her is to show her this question in the *Athenian Mercury*, when, "if she ben't extreamly dull," she will understand. Thus advice and advertisement are conveniently linked.



The first Tuesday in July<sup>1</sup> brought forth a *Mercury* headed "The Questions of Love, and others Proposed by Women." This number opened with a device that grew more and more common as the paper advanced on its career, namely, a question relating to a book recently published by Dunton. This time the query concerned a publication "entitled A Catalogue of Ladies to be sold by Auction," announced in the preceding issue of the *Mercury*. After almost a column of comment and indirect advertisement of this pamphlet, the "Questions of Love" were taken up and dealt with in some detail. These inquiries quite properly began with the old question "What is Love?" Dunton answered this with a little essay, light and humorous in style, a fore-runner of those periodical essays that were to make the *Taller* and the *Spectator* famous.

So successful, apparently, was this *Mercury* of July 7 in its instructions to the ladies that another issue<sup>2</sup> was presented on the following Tuesday, making two for July instead of the promised one. This number purports to set forth "Questions sent us from three Ingenious and Eminent Ladies." One fears that no lady, however eminent, was ingenious enough to furnish the versatile Dunton so heaven sent an opportunity as that conveyed by the first question—"Whether it be lawful for a young Lady to pray for a Husband, and if lawful in what form?" It is indeed lawful, the editor assures his reader, provided she use the form he generously supplies—a mock-serious parody of the litany.

With the third volume of the *Mercury*, the writer of these special numbers for women grew steadily more audacious. Perhaps he had been a little too general for the taste of his cookmaids and milliners. Perhaps he understood more clearly the taste of the group which these special papers attracted. At any rate, the questions became increasingly coarser and more flippant in tone: "In a dishonourable Amour who is most to blame, the man in tempting, or the woman in yielding?" "When we are in love and the men won't and can't understand our signs and motions, what in modesty can we do more to open their eyes?" To questions like these, repeated *ad nauseam*, the editor retorted sometimes in a moralizing vein, sometimes with half-serious banter.

<sup>1</sup> Vol. II, No. 13, Tuesday, July 7, 1691.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. II, No. 15, Tuesday, July 14, 1691.

By the autumn of 1691 the policy of presenting to the ladies a regular issue of the *Mercury* was well established, although occasionally some other Tuesday than the first was made to serve. The September number<sup>1</sup> took up and disposed of the complaint that the *Athenian Mercury* was weakened by its willingness to answer feminine questions. The October offering entertained its readers with a discussion of the forms of courtship gentlemen might properly use in paying their addresses to their mistresses, and the language most helpful in advancing their cause.<sup>2</sup> In November the ladies were given rules to guide them in their treatment of lovers. Some of the other material used in this number is not so innocent.<sup>3</sup> In the December issue Dunton reaffirmed his devotion to his feminine readers and his intention to serve them:

We have received several rebukes from some stoical gentlemen for taking any notice of the impertinacies of women, as they are pleased to call 'em. We think it a very natural as well as innocent attempt in us by this paper to please the Young and Fair; for which reason we hope we may by way of Prologue bespeak their continued Favour and Patronage, as we have hitherto found it.<sup>4</sup>

Obviously the readers whose attention Dunton had set out to engage were proving sufficiently numerous and profitable to justify him in admitting that he was really putting out a monthly paper for women, and intended to keep on doing so.

Although Dunton's original plan had been to make up the *Athenian Mercury* entirely from questions and answers, by the end of the first year of its existence the paper showed a certain change in form. The letter, closely linked at first with the questions, began to make its appearance. One wonders that this form had not appeared in the publication sooner, since the vogue of the letter had been great for a decade, but new forms come slowly into periodicals and a device once adopted tends to persist. Dunton had long been familiar with the scheme of question and answer. His inspiration had been to use this device on a new kind of material, for a new kind of reading group. The letter of inquiry, soon to become one of the established conventions of periodicals, gave Dunton even more opportunity than he had

<sup>1</sup> Vol. III, No. 13, Tuesday, September 8, 1691.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. IV, No. 3, Tuesday, October 6, 1691.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. IV, No. 13, Tuesday, November 10, 1691.

<sup>4</sup> Vol. V, No. 3, Tuesday, December 8, 1691.

had before to shift the responsibility for his material to the questioner, and to balance indecorous inquiries with conventionally proper answers. The letter of confession soon followed, with its request for advice, supplying an even wider field to an editor with romantic leanings.

In the *Mercuries* for 1692 Dunton gave himself a free hand with both letter and question, and this greater freedom was promptly accompanied by a greater diversity of material. The January *Mercury* for ladies<sup>1</sup> was made up of a letter confessing to a sinful amour, several questions dealing with clandestine and unlawful intrigues, and the publisher's unctuous comments on these unedifying items. This collection of material found fitting conclusion in the inquiry, "Whether Sappho or Mrs. Behn were the better poetess?" With Dunton's mock-serious answer to this question, literary comment may be said to have found its way into the periodical for women, an innovation destined to play an important part in later publications of a similar nature.

The ladies had to wait until the third Tuesday in February<sup>2</sup> for their paper of that month; when it came it followed the pattern of question and letter, and was made up of the usual amorous material. With the March number<sup>3</sup> the ladies were treated to a discourse on the reading and seeing of plays, reiterating all the usual objections to the theater of the day. Along with these beginnings of literary and dramatic criticism, the *Mercury* offered comments on the lawfulness of such aids to beauty as black patches and cosmetics, thus adding still another feature to the make-up of the periodical for women.<sup>4</sup> By May, questions and letters were provided with such lavishness that three numbers of the paper were filled during the month with matrimonial counsel and discussions of love in its various manifestations.<sup>5</sup>

From the beginning the *Athenian Mercury* had offered a variety of "cases" for the consideration of its readers. With the development of the *Mercuries* for ladies, these cases became more elaborate in detail and if not actually short-stories, certainly offered plot material for the entertainment of the curious. Dunton had, undoubtedly, a narrative gift that enabled him to give an air of verisimilitude to fictitious material, and to endow it with interest. The cookmaids

<sup>1</sup> Vol. V, No. 13, Tuesday, January 12, 1692.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. VI, No. 7, Tuesday, February 23, 1692.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. VI, No. 17, Tuesday, March 22, 1692.

<sup>4</sup> Vol. VII, No. 9, Tuesday, April 26, 1692.

<sup>5</sup> Vol. VII, No. 13, Tuesday, May 10, 1692; No. 15, Tuesday, May 17, 1692; No. 19, Tuesday, May 31, 1692.

and servant girls could have speculated long and seriously on the following situation:

A young Gentleman loves and courts a lady. The advantages of his person and the prospect of a fair estate to which he was heir so recommended him that in a short time he had gained so far on her affections that there passed a mutual contract between them; but the old Gentleman, her Father, observing them so far advanced in their affections and that the young Spark was noosed fast enough, declares that if his daughter ever marries him, he'll not give her a farthing. On this the young Gentleman desists from his courtship; and, some time after, finding himself in such circumstances at home as did not please him, and from which he could disengage himself no way so well as by marriage, without any leave asked of his melancholy Mistress, addresses himself to another, which coming to his old Mistress's ears, the resentment of the affront made her listen to the importunities of her Mother-in-law and entertain the pretenses of her kinsman, so notorious a block-head, and in all sober men's opinion so every way undeserving her, that her indignation at her first servant's base treatment is lookt upon as the greatest inducement to her compliance with Squire's courtship. Her first lover not succeeding in his second amour, has attempted a Reconciliation with his former Mistress, but to no purpose. Now how far will this Gentleman be accountable in Honour and Conscience for the Lady's misfortune, if upon the motives alleg'd, she throws herself away on this Intolerable Fool?<sup>1</sup>

This introduction of narrative material into the *Mercury* was accompanied by its natural companion—the character. Dunton had found the work of Overbury, Fuller, Earle, and Flecknoe profitable to him in other enterprises, and had rifled the pages of *The Ladies Calling* to construct a New England Lady.<sup>2</sup> He was ready, therefore, to meet the question asked by “a lady of good fortune,” in July,<sup>3</sup> as to the kind of husband she might profitably marry. She does not wish, she says, “a Fool, a Fop, a Beau, a Cotquean, a Book-Learn'd Sot, or even a Sober Honest Man” who goes plodding about all day, minding only the main chance. With happy dispatch the fool, the fop, the beau, and the cotquean are disposed of in accordance with the technique of the character:

The Fop is hardly so much Fool as Mad-man; a dancing, singing, empty new-Nothing; . . . he may make an indifferent Play thing, but a very bad Husband. The Beau is only a Fop of the last edition, a very Fortune-hunter

<sup>1</sup> Vol. VII, No. 24, Saturday, June 18, 1692.

<sup>2</sup> For a discussion of Dunton's use of the work of these writers see C. N. Greenough, “John Dunton's Letters from New England,” *Col. Soc. of Mass. Pub.*, XIV (March, 1912).

<sup>3</sup> Vol. VII, No. 30, Saturday, July 9, 1692.

and, therefore, the Ladies must look to themselves; he's in Love with his cloaths as much as the Fop with himself; he's all garniture. Could a lady change him as oft as he does his Fashions, 'twould be a little safer venturing upon him; but she may have him a better pennyworth, if she can find any way to purchase his cloaths, for then she has all of him, or at least a more essential part than either his Soul or Body. . . .

Had Dunton been able to keep his *Mercuries* for ladies up to the level of some of his innovations, there would be a different story to tell and the present-day descendants could boast a prouder ancestry. But the second page of this July number is a different affair. The questions are the old lascivious inquiries; the answers are given with the same sly leer. One modest little inquiry about the proper herbs for a "sallet" rears its head, but is promptly disposed of. It was love, not lentils, that Dunton had for sale.

During this month of July the *Athenian Mercury* grew daring in several directions, emboldened, doubtless, by the zest its readers had shown for the sensational. Its indecencies grew more common, and it became grossly personal in some of the "cases" it presented for consideration. As a result of its brashness the paper was suppressed for seven weeks—from July 26 to September 17.<sup>1</sup> As soon as publication was resumed in September, the ladies were assured that their questions would be speedily answered, and on October 1 they were definitely informed: "The Ladies Questions will be answered next Tuesday and after that *Once Every Fortnight* till we have answered all the ingenious Questions, lately sent us by the Fair Sex."<sup>2</sup> Immediately beneath this announcement appeared, in large type, an advertisement of *The Post-Boy Robbed of his Mail*, printed for John Dunton at the Raven in the Poultry.

It is evident from the first question in the promised *Mercury* for ladies that the thrifty bookseller had his eye on possible purchasers of this sensational collection. Readers who occupied themselves with the accounts of adultery, incest, and amorous irregularities so constantly provided for them in the pages of the *Mercury* would doubtless find the indecencies of *The Post-Boy Robbed* agreeable to their tastes. Accordingly, the *Mercury* of October 4 opened with a shrewd advertisement, in the form of an inquiry about the newly published

<sup>1</sup>Dunton, *Life and Errors* (London, 1705), p. 258.

<sup>2</sup>Vol. VIII, No. 10, Saturday, October 1, 1692.

volume, followed by the assurance that readers would find in this book a complete account of all the passions that influence mankind.<sup>1</sup> As fitting prelude to the reading of these glorious tales, the rest of the *Mercury* dealt with such matters as the sad state of two gentlewomen with a violent passion for a gentleman who fears to marry either lest the other take some desperate course; the lamentable condition of a young lady who so grieves for want of a husband that it would move a heart of stone; and the sins and irregularities of an adulterous wife detected by an apprentice.

The first of the fortnightly papers promised the ladies appeared on November 1, 1692. It discussed the relative advantages of a fair woman over a black one as a wife; the best way of eliminating a rival; the responsibility for an illegitimate child; and concluded with a moving picture of "a passionate, furious woman" who cursed and abused her husband.<sup>2</sup> The second November issue<sup>3</sup> took up the case of a young lady who confessed to a mighty love for plays, and desired to know whether it were not better to go in a mask than to expose her face to all comers. A lady, who by her own confession was a celebrated beauty before she had the smallpox, asked for help in restoring her charms; another wished to be told how a lean woman might grow more plump and pleasing. The first of these seekers for beauty is told that her conduct, not her complexion, should be her main concern; the second is warned that her "morals will grow worse in the same proportion as she grows plumper."

Such questions as these, interspersed with repeated inquiries as to the relative merits of various kinds of husbands and wives, make up the sum of the fortnightly offerings promised to women. Evidently they proved popular with some fringe of the reading public, for early in the year 1693 the *Athenian Mercury* published the announcement:

The Ladyes Questions shall be answered next week, and whatever questions are sent us by the Fair Sex shall be now answered sooner than formerly, our intent being to allot *one day in every week* for answering the Ladies Questions concerning Love and Marriage &, and besides this we shall at the end of the year make up a Collection of all the Questions receiv'd on that subject, to which shall be prefix a Preface and Alphabetical Table.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Vol. VIII, No. 11, Tuesday, October 4, 1692.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. VIII, No. 19, Tuesday, November 1, 1692.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. VIII, No. 25, Tuesday, November 22, 1692.

<sup>4</sup> Vol. IX, No. 22, Saturday, February 25, 1693.



New projects were stirring in Dunton's mind. His interest in the ladies had proved profitable, and he was ready in his usual headlong fashion to experiment further. "The Collection of Questions" promptly took the title *The Ladies Dictionary*, and received constant publicity in the columns of the *Mercury*. The work was to contain "all the most nice and Curious Questions sent concerning Love, Marriage, Behavior, Dress, and Humours of the Female Sex; as well as answers to whatever entertaining questions else are sent concerning our English Virgins, Wives, Widows, or the Fair Sex in general."

It may have been to collect additional material for this volume that Dunton tried another experiment with his reading public. He did not announce this second enterprise in the columns of the *Athenian Mercury*, nor did he mention it later when he boasted of his six hundred projects.<sup>1</sup> But it seems clear, from the evidence, that he must bear the responsibility for the *Ladies Mercury*, a new weekly periodical boldly recognizing the fair sex in its title and opening address. In spite of the fact that the *Athenian Mercury* had steadily devoted an increasing amount of attention to the ladies, offering first a monthly, then a fortnightly, and finally a weekly number for their entertainment and instruction, it had never indicated by its title this changing emphasis; therefore, although its contents justify us in maintaining that in these special numbers we have the first magazine for women, it may be more accurate to reserve that claim for the *Ladies Mercury*. Whichever we choose to call first in the field, Dunton retains his place as originator.

This new periodical made its bow to the ladies of London on February 27, 1693. It opened with an address to the "Athenians," assuring them that it had no intention of encroaching on their fields of learning, nature, art, or science, being content to bound its narrow speculations "to only that little sub-lunary,—Woman." This polite assurance was followed by a fulsome discourse to the ladies:

As the following design is purely Dedicated to your service, to court your encouragement and endear your good graces toward us; we think it our Duty to your Fair Sex to avow that we shall not only, with all the zeal and expedition imaginable be ready to answer all Questions you shall vouch-safe to send us; but we shall likewise make it our study not to give the least offensive syllable that may give any rude shock to the chastest ear. We declare

<sup>1</sup> *Athenianism: or the New Projects of Mr. John Dunton*, London, 1710.

ourselves such Religious Homagers of Virtue and Innocence that we would not force a blush into a Virgin's cheek, having that true value for Beauty as to adorn it with no other vermillion but its own.

Dunton's connection with the *Ladies Mercury* becomes clear with its third number, for a large part of this issue is given up to questions concerning *The Ladies Dictionary*, soon to be published for the enlightenment of the female sex. This frank advertisement of the bookseller's project of the hour follows the method Dunton constantly employed in the *Athenian Mercury* when he wanted to push one of his publications.

But there is an even clearer indication of his relationship with the new periodical: the *Athenian Mercury* for March 18 is made up of the very same unsavory questions that compose No. 1 of the *Ladies Mercury*. In the *Ladies Mercury* the confessed sinners come off very easily, being dismissed with a benevolent admonition to "look nobly up to bright Heaven & not to the sullen shade behind." The *Athenian Mercury*, on the contrary, adopts a high moral tone, first passing judgment on the opinions of a "late author" who had presumed to answer these questions and then setting forth its own more severe views.

The repeated references to this "late Author" do not, however, carry conviction. Dunton had, it is true, declared in one of the early numbers of the *Athenian Mercury*<sup>1</sup> that if any persons attempted to interfere with his "Question Project" he would take up the matter with them and answer over again whatever questions they presumed to undertake. But the tone in which he refers to this "Author" does not suggest any real animosity. He gives no indication that he is dealing with a rival, as he undoubtedly would have done had any newcomer ventured to encroach upon a field so carefully cultivated by him. When the *Lacedemonian Mercury*<sup>2</sup> some time before attempted to address the London public, he met it with violence<sup>3</sup> and carefully recorded in print his successful routing of this intruder.<sup>4</sup> Later, when he wrote the history of his editorial labors, he definitely

<sup>1</sup> Vol. II, No. 7, Tuesday, June 16, 1691.

<sup>2</sup> This paper first appeared February 1, 1691, under the title of the *London Mercury*, and, like the *Athenian Mercury*, devoted its efforts entirely to the answering of questions. After No. 8 the title was changed to the *Lacedemonian Mercury*.

*Athenian Mercury*, Vol. VI, No. 1, Tuesday, February 2, 1692.

Dunton, *Life and Errors* (London, 1705), p. 257.



held up to scorn the rivals who had imitated his periodical.<sup>1</sup> Assuredly he would have voiced a heroic protest had any imitator inaugurated a *Ladies Mercury* after he had spent two years of devotion on the questions of the fair sex, and at the very moment when he was preparing *The Ladies Dictionary*.

For some reason which he never cared to explain Dunton must have decided that the weekly *Mercury*, promised on February 25, 1693, might as well be called a *Ladies Mercury*, and stand on its own feet. For some reason, likewise unknown, he must very promptly have decided to abandon this undertaking. Only four numbers of the paper are known to exist,<sup>2</sup> and considering their contents one need not regret this fact. Dunton was obviously not eager to acknowledge so pitiful an enterprise, for he made no mention of it either in his *Life and Errors* (1705) or in *Athenianism* (1710). But he did not, which is much more important, boast of driving an interloper from the field, as he certainly would have done had the periodical been launched by anyone else.

Immediately following this experiment with a *Ladies Mercury* came other innovations. On April 4, 1693, a "Poetical Mercury" offered its questions and answers in rhyme; on April 22 an "Everybody's Mercury" tried to be all things to all people; on June 10 a "Doggrel Mercury" was frankly frivolous. But all these offerings retained the title of *Athenian Mercury*, and their proper number in the current volume, using only a subheading to indicate their nature. When Volume X, which includes these various attempts at diversity, was ready for distribution, Dunton wrote a Preface for it. In this he complains that the lack of "Philosophers" in "the dull & insipid age" has led him far from his original plan of supplying information only to his readers. The *Ladies Mercury* and the other special *Mercuries* that followed it were probably wide-flung efforts to discover just who those readers were. The reanswering of questions previously printed in the *Ladies Mercury* gave Dunton an opportunity to mystify his public—a thing he dearly loved to do—as well as to fill up a number of the *Athenian Mercury* at a time when he was obviously experimenting with material.

<sup>1</sup> Dunton, *Athenianism* (London, 1710), p. 113.

<sup>2</sup> In the British Museum and the Bodleian Library.

With the passing of the *Ladies Mercury* the bookseller seems to have abandoned his attempts to produce a special monthly, fortnightly, or weekly periodical for women. The succeeding volumes of the *Athenian Mercury* contain plenty of clamor about broken vows, unfortunate marriages, seductions, and cruelties, but it is distributed throughout many numbers, and one cannot claim for these later volumes any place in the history of the magazine for women that could not as properly be demanded for any periodical appealing to a general group of readers.

Yet certain features in the later volumes were developed primarily for feminine readers. "Poetical Ladies" began to offer their outpourings to a publication so sympathetic to their sex, and were welcomed enthusiastically. Volume XI concludes, on October 21, 1693, with a number made up largely of "Verses contributed by a woman, which tho they contain no question and are somewhat uncorrect, yet for the Honour of her Sex and that uncommon Genius that shines in 'em" the publisher thinks proper to insert. Dunton's interest in the verses of Elizabeth Singer,<sup>1</sup> whose first volume of poems he was about to publish, led him to fill many *Mercuries* with the productions of this "Ingenious Pindarick Lady," and to dedicate Volume XV to her. But while the work of these poets was praised because it was done by women, it was not offered primarily to women readers.

The place that the early *Mercuries* for ladies had occupied, Dunton evidently counted on supplying by *The Ladies Dictionary*, definitely announced as ready for the public in March, 1694. All women "from the Lady at her Toilet to the Cook-maid in the Kitchen" were urged to consult this oracle, "written with so pleasing an eloquence that you would always believe the author capable of saying more upon the subject than he does." Gathered into this volume were the thousands of questions which had played their part in former *Mercuries* and had won for Dunton a new reading public.

One last effort was made in the columns of the *Athenian Mercury* to rally its feminine supporters; but whether that attempt was made in order to give the *Mercury* new life or merely to stir up

<sup>1</sup> Elizabeth Singer Rowe, whose earliest work, *Poems on Several Occasions*, Dunton published in 1696.

interest in a forthcoming volume it is hard to say.<sup>1</sup> A certain Sir Thomas was represented to have "much reflected upon the dress and habits of the Fair Sex," and all ingenious ladies were invited to take up arms against his aspersions. Occasionally a paper was printed that purported to be an answer to his criticism, but the device was not followed up very energetically in the declining *Mercury*.

After six years of life the *Athenian Mercury* was about to cease its efforts to instruct and entertain its varied audience. In the final number,<sup>2</sup> however, Dunton promised his faithful ladies that the design of answering Sir Thomas had not been abandoned. They should hear more of it. Accordingly, the following year there appeared a volume entitled *The Challenge; or the Female War*, in which "the learned Anonyma, the ingenious Daphne, and other Ladies under Madam Godfrey, their She-Champion," set forth their views on many of the subjects that had long engaged the attention of the periodical.

With this publication and *The Ladies Dictionary* feminine readers who had enjoyed the ministrations of the *Athenian Mercury* had to solace themselves until the opening years of the eighteenth century again recognized their separate interests, in a *Ladies Diary*<sup>3</sup> and a *Female Tatler*.<sup>4</sup>

BERTHA-MONICA STEARNS

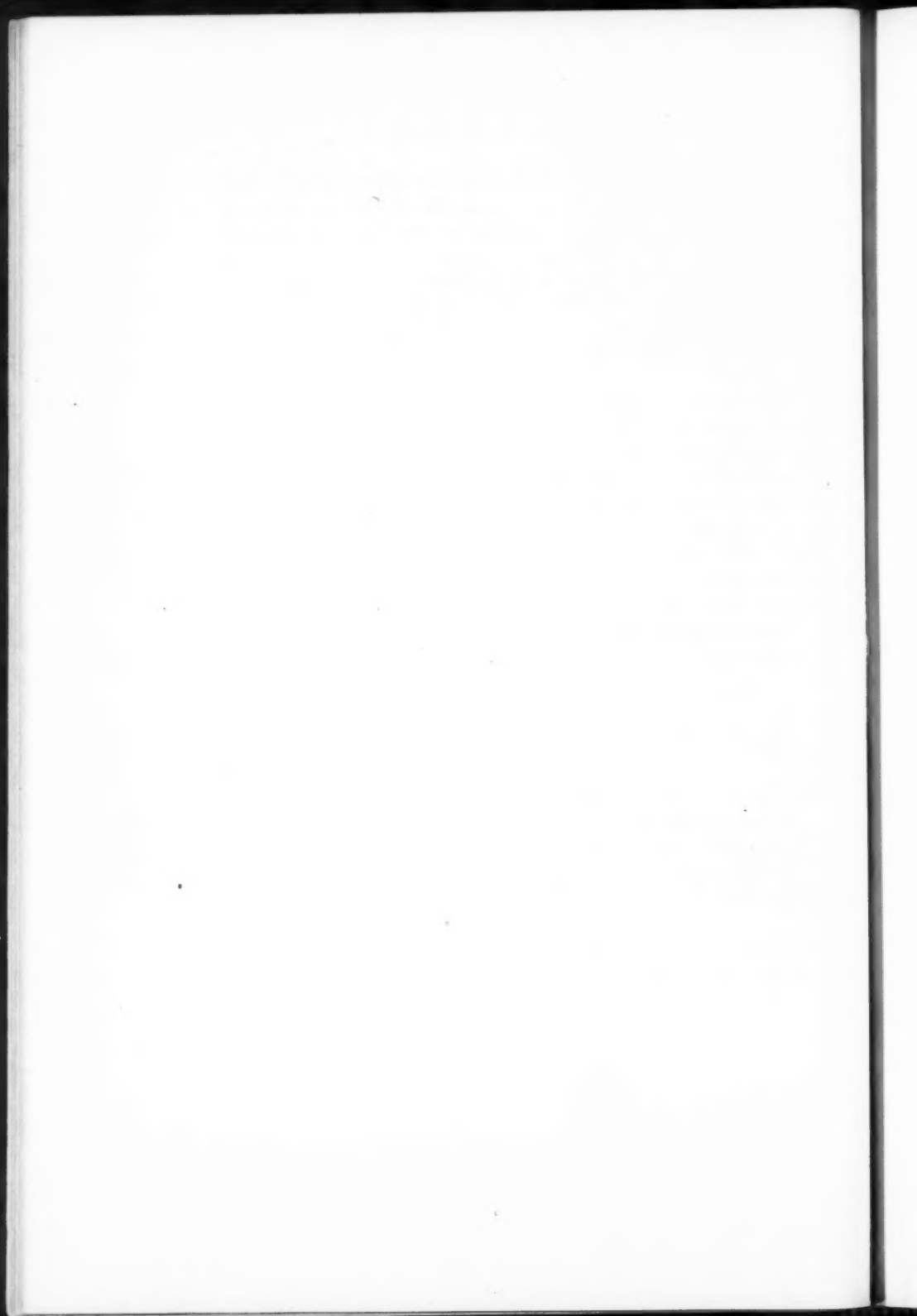
WELLESLEY COLLEGE

<sup>1</sup> *Athenian Mercury*, Vol. XV, No. 20, Saturday, November 10, 1694, "A Proposal to all Ingenious Ladies."

<sup>2</sup> Vol. XIX, No. 30, Saturday, February 8, 1696. Dunton gave notice in this issue that he thought fit, "whilst the Coffee-Houses have the votes every day and six newspapers every week, to discontinue this weekly paper." He promised that the project should be continued as soon as "the glut of news" was over. The paper was started again May 14, 1697, but ran for only ten numbers, ceasing entirely June 14, 1697.

<sup>3</sup> *The Ladies Diary, or the Woman's Almanack*, established by John Tipper of Coventry, 1704.

<sup>4</sup> *The Female Tatler*, "By Mrs. Crackenthorpe, a Lady that knows everything" (1709).



## THE CONTEMPORARY RECEPTION OF GRAY'S *ODES*

ON AUGUST 8, 1757, R. and J. Dodsley published a slender quarto volume, entitled *Odes by Mr. Gray*, price one shilling. This was the first publication of new material of any importance by the poet since the hasty appearance of the *Elegy* in 1751 to forestall the zealous editors of the *Magazine of Magazines*. Gray was, however, widely known in academic and social circles, and his *Elegy* had been read with enthusiasm by people of all classes.<sup>1</sup> This fame, increased perhaps by the fact that at the moment there were practically no poets of any distinction writing in England, would cause anything he should write to be received with more than ordinary attention. Robert Dodsley knew this, and, when the poet brought his odes to London on June 29, 1757, promptly paid him forty guineas for them.<sup>2</sup>

There is a rather striking divergence of opinion among literary historians as to the reception of these poems by the reading public of the time, and it is to attempt to discover the real situation as well as to present new material that I have undertaken this survey. The late Sir Edmund Gosse, for example, in his life of Gray in the "English Men of Letters" series, paints an enthusiastic description of a favorable reception, where the small volume "was by no means insignificant and achieved a very great success."<sup>3</sup> Professor W. L. Phelps, on the other hand, comments briefly but rather aptly on the disfavor which the most imaginative poetry Gray ever produced met with:

These two odes . . . were distinctly in advance of their age. They were above the popular conception of poetry, and their obscurity was increased by their allusiveness. The public did not take to them kindly; many people regarded them then as we see Browning and Wagner regarded to-day. Their obscurity was ridiculed, and they were freely parodied. Gray was a little hurt by all this, but he had foreseen their probable reception.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The *Elegy* had already appeared in ten editions, four of them within the first two months, in the well-known 1753 edition of six poems with designs by Bentley, and in numerous pirated editions. See C. S. Northup, *A Bibliography of Thomas Gray* (New Haven, 1917), pp. 31, 74-76.

<sup>2</sup> The receipt for two odes, *Powers* [sic] of *Poetry and the Bard*, is published in R. Straus, *Robert Dodsley* (London, 1910), p. 164.

<sup>3</sup> *Gray* (London, 1882), p. 117.

<sup>4</sup> Introduction to *Selections from the Prose and Poetry of Thomas Gray* (Boston, 1894), p. xxvi. For an excellent but very concise summary of the situation, see Arthur F. Bell, *Gray, Poems Published in 1768* (Oxford, 1915), pp. xxxiii-iv.

That two of the leading students of Gray can arrive at such different conclusions with the use, in either case, of perfectly good evidence is of itself warrant enough for another study, which will attempt to present all the facts in an endeavor to get at the whole truth. Add to this the great amount of new material concerning Gray and his friends, particularly Horace Walpole, made public within the last two decades, as well as two contemporary reviews of the *Odes*, which as far as I know have never before been noticed, and it will easily be seen that a study of the situation will not be amiss. I shall try to present all possible evidence which will tend to show how the *Odes* were received by the public at the time of their appearance and shortly afterward. I shall limit myself on the whole to evidence appearing in letters and periodicals within a few months of the publication of the poems, except in a few instances where something written later represents a condition or mood which had not changed.

## I

On sending to Thomas Wharton, as early as December 26, 1754, "an ode in the Greek manner," which we have since come to know as the *Progress of Poetry*, Gray wrote: "If this be as tedious to you, as it is grown to me, I shall be sorry that I sent it you. . . . I desire you would by no means suffer this to be copied; nor even show it, unless to very few, and especially not to mere scholars, that can scan all the measures in Pindar, and say the *scholia* by heart."<sup>1</sup>

A few months later he expresses his scorn of the idea of writing merely for publication; he tells Wharton he does not wish to publish the *Progress of Poetry* alone. He has two or three more ideas in his head; but what is to come of them? "Must they come out in the shape of little sixpenny flams, dropping one after another, till Mr. Dodsley thinks fit to collect them with Mr. this's song and Mr. t'other's epigrams, into a pretty volume?"<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Letters of Thomas Gray* (ed. D. C. Tovey; London, 1900), I, 256. This is the best edition of Gray's letters, but all friends of the poet may look forward with pleasure to a new edition by Paget Toynbee, who has recently done so much in bringing new Walpoliana to light.

<sup>2</sup> March 9, 1755, in *Letters*, I, 261. This is just what Dodsley had done in 1748 in *A Collection of Poems by Several Hands* (3 vols.), and again in 1755 in four volumes bearing the same title. Similar collections, popularly known as "Dodsley's Miscellanies," were published in 1758, 1763, 1765, 1775, and 1782.

The ideas seem to materialize in a "Morceau" on the Welsh bards, which he sends to Wharton on August 6, 1755, and on which he desires him to speak his mind.<sup>1</sup> On August 21<sup>2</sup> he sends a bit more to his friend Stonehewer at Cambridge, and writes to Wharton about it, appearing at the same time greatly relieved and much pleased with the good opinion he seems to have of the fragment on the bards.<sup>3</sup> Gray presently abandoned the poem because of his nervous condition;<sup>4</sup> Mason upbraided him for this and urged him to finish it,<sup>5</sup> but the *Bard* remained in its amorphous state<sup>6</sup> until the well-known incident of Parry, the blind Welsh singer, in May, 1757, when he was inspired to finish "Odikle," as he playfully called his composition.<sup>7</sup>

In June he took the two odes to town and sold them to Dodsley for forty guineas; Walpole found him there and got permission to print them as the first-fruits of his private press, newly set up at Strawberry Hill, instead of the intended *Journey into England* of Paul Hentzner.<sup>8</sup> Gray affected to be greatly disturbed and displeased over this turn of events, and confided to the Rev. James Brown<sup>9</sup> and to Mason<sup>10</sup> that he knew they would dislike it as much as he, but that he could not help it. Doubtless he was a bit perturbed at the thought of intrusting his precious poems to the whims and caprices of a man whose queer tricks he had plenty of opportunities to know; moreover, it delayed publication, for Walpole, it seemed, had but one hand employed to do the printing. But, you understand, he adds to Mason, "it is he that prints them, not for me, but for Dodsley." Walpole, on the other hand, was enthusiastic over the odes, or at least over his share in their appearance, and announced triumphantly that "nothing under *Graii Carmina*" was to open his new press.<sup>11</sup> His friends undoubtedly shared

<sup>1</sup> *Letters*, I, 267-68.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 270-71.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 271-72.

<sup>4</sup> To Wharton, October 18, 1755, *Letters*, I, 281: "I have not done a word more of the *Bard*, having been in a very listless, unpleasant, and inutile state of Mind for this long while. . . ."

<sup>5</sup> Mason to Gray, November 26, 1755, *Letters*, I, 281-84.

<sup>6</sup> Gray was, however, conscious that the *Bard* was unfinished and that his friends were interested in its progress. To Wharton, January 9, 1756, *Letters*, I, 291: "I have not added a line more to old Caradoc." To Mason, December 19, 1756, *Letters*, I, 312: "Odikle is not a bit grown."

<sup>7</sup> To Mason, May . . . 1757, *Letters*, I, 331-33, inclosing the "tall of Odikle."

<sup>8</sup> This book was actually published by Walpole some two months later. See Austin Dobson, *Horace Walpole, a Memoir* (4th ed., rev. Paget Toynbee; Oxford, 1927), pp. 344-45.

<sup>9</sup> July 25, *Letters*, I, 340-41.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 343.

<sup>11</sup> To John Chute, July 12, 1757, in *Letters of Horace Walpole* (ed. Mrs. Paget Toynbee; Oxford, 1903), IV, 73.

a certain amount of his interest, and he kept them informed as to the progress made in the publication.<sup>1</sup>

Although the volume was not published by Dodsley until August 8, one thousand copies were finished by August 3,<sup>2</sup> and the very next day Walpole sent copies to many friends, among others to Garrick,<sup>3</sup> to Mr. Arthur Onslow, the venerable speaker of the House of Commons,<sup>4</sup> to George Montagu,<sup>5</sup> and to Bishop Lyttelton, who was then Dean of Exeter, inclosing a copy as well to be given to his brother Lord Lyttelton.<sup>6</sup> Gray also sent out a number of copies of the *Odes* to his friends, in packets which were probably dispatched from Dodsley's on the day of publication, according to his orders.<sup>7</sup> A large packet was to be distributed by his friend James Brown among his acquaintances at Cambridge; two weeks before the poems were published he sends Brown a list of some sixteen at Cambridge, to whom copies were to be given, besides a blanket assignment for "all the Fellows resident." "If you think I forget anybody," Gray rather naïvely adds, "pray send it them in my name; what remain upon your hands you will hide in a corner."<sup>8</sup>

## II

When Walpole sent Sir Horace Mann some copies of Gray's *Odes*, he accompanied the gift with a letter accounting for his inattention to news by the fact that he has turned printer; his press has made a very honorable opening with two amazing odes of Mr. Gray, which are indeed sublime but greatly in need of the explanatory notes which the poet has consistently refused to add. This letter, written four days be-

<sup>1</sup> To George Montagu, July 16, *ibid.*, pp. 74-75: "Elzevirianum opens to-day; you shall taste its first-fruits." To Chute, July 26, *ibid.*, pp. 76-77: "The press goes on as fast as if I printed myself. I hope in a very few days to send you a specimen, though I could wish you was at the birth of the first produce." M. A. Havens, *Horace Walpole and the Strawberry Hill Press* (Canton, Pa., 1901), p. 17, quotes the actress, Mrs. Clive, who was Walpole's neighbor, as saying with enthusiasm of the *Odes*, "We printed them at our press." I cannot find this reference.

<sup>2</sup> *Journal of the Printing-Office at Strawberry Hill* (ed. Paget Toynbee; London and Boston, 1923), pp. 3, 77.

<sup>3</sup> *Supplement to the Letters of Horace Walpole* (ed. Paget Toynbee; Oxford, 1925), III, 144.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

*Walpole Letters*, IV, 81.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> To Mason, August 1, 1757, *Gray Letters*, I, 343: "You may be sure Dodsley has orders to send you some Odes the instant they were off the spit; indeed I forgot Mr. Fraser, so I fear they will come to Sheffield in the shape of a small parcel by some coach or wagon; but if there is time I will prevent it."

<sup>8</sup> To Brown, from Stoke, July 25, 1757, *Letters*, I, 340-41.



fore the *Odes* were officially published, gives accurately and concisely Walpole's attitude toward his friend's compositions,<sup>1</sup> but the letters exchanged between him and Lord Lyttelton form by far the best criticism of the *Odes* that has come down to us outside the reviews themselves.

Lord Lyttelton had evidently written Walpole, thanking him for his present and sending his approbation on the *Odes* with some reservations. Walpole's reply, dated from Strawberry Hill, August 25, is too long to quote in detail, but some of the general criticism will serve to illustrate his attitude:

It is a satisfaction one can't often receive, to show a thing of great merit to a man of great taste. Your Lordship's approbation is conclusive, and it stamps a disgrace on the age, who have not given themselves the trouble to see any beauties in these *Odes* of Mr. Gray. They have cast their eyes over them, found them obscure, and looked no farther, yet perhaps no composition ever had more sublime beauties than are in each. I agree with your Lordship in preferring the last upon the whole; the three first stanzas, down to *agonizing King*, are in my opinion equal to anything in any language I understand. Yet the three last of the first Ode please me very near as much. . . .

These faults [some details at which Lord L. had taken offense] I think I can defend, and can excuse others; even the general obscurity of the latter, for I do not see it in the first. . . . I was aware the second would at first have darkenesses, and prevailed for the insertion of what notes there are, and would have had more. Mr. Gray said, whatever wanted explanation did not deserve it, but that sentence was never so far from being an axiom as in the present case. . . . [A long paragraph of detailed criticism follows.]

Your Lordship sees that I am no enthusiast to Mr. Gray: his great lustre hath not dazzled me, as his obscurity seems to have blinded his cotemporaries. Indeed, I do not think that they ever admired him, except in his Churchyard, though the Eton Ode was far its superior, and is certainly not obscure. . . .<sup>2</sup>

The same day, in a letter to George Montagu who had evidently confessed that he liked the *Odes*, Walpole shows the same basic confidence in Gray's ability and the same distrust of popular taste: "You are very particular in liking Gray's *Odes*—but you must remember that the age likes Akinside, and did like Thomson! Can the same people like both? Milton was forced to wait till the world had done admiring Quarles."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> To Mann, August 4, 1757, *Walpole Letters*, IV, 77-80: "They are Greek, they are Pindaric, they are sublime! Consequently I fear a little obscure; the second particularly, by the confinement of the measure and the nature of the prophetic vision, is mysterious. I could not persuade him to add more notes; he says whatever wants to be explained, don't deserve to be. I shall venture to place some in Dr. Cocchi's copy. . . ."

<sup>2</sup> *Walpole Letters*, IV, 84-88.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 88.

A few days later came Lyttelton's reply to Walpole's criticism, a letter which itself contained much detailed criticism but also enough of a general nature to give us in his own words his attitude toward Gray's Pindaric odes:

I am proud that the obscurity thrown over some parts of it has not hindered me from seeing and admiring the bright and glorious flame of poetical fire in Mr. Gray's *Odes*, when you tell me it has escaped the eye of the Publick. . . . All the last stanza of the *Bard* from *Fond impious man* in my opinion is very sublime and the poem cannot end better than with the two last lines. The first part of the stanza I confess is obscure, but yet I understood it at the first reading. . . .<sup>1</sup>

A striking contrast to the sane criticism and sympathetic understanding shown in these letters of Walpole and Lord Lyttelton is offered by some anecdotes concerning certain members of the upper class who were not so careful or discerning in literary matters. One of these, appearing rather unexpectedly nearly forty years later in the diary of the assiduous Lord Glenbervie, offers what seems to me a parable of the situation under discussion: Walpole has assembled his friends to hear Gray read the *Odes* in manuscript, but what a motley assembly the "intelligent" turn out to be! Two members of the "select" group, George Williams and Richard Lord Edgecumbe, were friends of Lord Glenbervie, hence the entry in his diary. "Dickie" Edgecumbe, he says, was "a most extraordinary mixture of art and absurdity, parts, folly, business, idleness, and dissipation of every sort." But to the story:

He was a particular friend of Horace Walpole's and one of those who were assembled by him to hear Gray read in MSS. his *Ode to Lyric Poetry*. The others were, besides Gray and Walpole himself, Mason, Williams, and George Selwyn, and from the motto they called themselves the *συνετοί*. When Gray had got to the second stanza Mr. Edgecumbe leant towards Mr. Williams who sat near him and said, "What is this? It seems to be English, but by G—d I don't understand a single word of it."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Lord Lyttelton to Walpole, Hagley, August 31, 1757, preserved in the Waller Collection and printed by Toynbee in his *Supplement to the Letters of Horace Walpole*, II (1918), 100–101.

<sup>2</sup> *The Diaries of Sylvester Douglas, Lord Glenbervie* (ed. Francis Bickley; London and New York, 1928), I, 135. The entry is under the date of March 31, 1797. He also tells how Lord Edgecumbe, whose character appears in the additions to Walpole's *Royal and Noble Authors*, was in his youth so wild that his father sent him to Constantinople for ten years under the care of Sir Everard Fawkener. On the passage he engaged the captain in play and they lost and won to each other during the voyage £22,000.

Shortly after their publication, the *Odes* were read and freely discussed in the upper circles of society, but there was generally a complaint of obscurity. When critics like Walpole and Lord Lyttelton, with all their discernment, had wished Gray might have been clearer, it is not surprising to find others of the nobility making slighting or jesting remarks about the *Odes*. Sarcasm and ignorance are combined in a remark reported in a letter from Walpole to George Montagu, August 25: "Cambridge told me t'other night that my Lord Chesterfield had read them [the *Odes*] as his own, but that must have been a mistake of my Lord's deafness. Cambridge said, 'Perhaps they are Stanley's; and not caring to own them, he gave them to Gray.'"<sup>1</sup> The powerful Mr. Fox, later the first Lord Holland, jested wittily about the obscurity of the *Bard*; if the bard sung his song only once over, he was heard to remark, he does not wonder if Edward I did not understand him.<sup>2</sup> Three lords at the York races, someone told Gray, bought his *Odes* and put the book in their pockets after having criticized him for being impenetrable and inexplicable and wishing he had told them in prose what he meant in verse.<sup>3</sup>

The nobility of the country were obviously curious about this new volume, not only because it was the first-fruits of the private press of the dilettante son of a former powerful prime minister, but also because Gray was familiar to them and at the time the first poet of the land. They were not, however, inclined to puzzle their wits long over any poem. There may have been some, on the other hand, who, like Mr. Robert Wood, undersecretary of state, known for his book on the *Ruins of Palmyra* and patronized by Pitt, had read the *Odes* carefully and yet were disappointed in their expectations.<sup>4</sup> There were perhaps more like the eminent speaker Mr. Arthur Onslow, who thought the second ode "a good pretty tale, but nothing to the Churchyard."<sup>5</sup>

In literary and academic circles, however, where perhaps after all the greater number of the *συγγραφεὶς* were to be found, the *Odes* were

<sup>1</sup> Walpole Letters, IV, 88.

<sup>2</sup> Gray Letters, I, 348-54.

<sup>3</sup> Gray to Wharton, October 7, 1757, *ibid.*, p. 366.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 348-54.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 366. Onslow writes to Walpole from Ember Court, August 5, 1757, acknowledging the present of a copy of the *Odes* and saying that he will soon be at Strawberry Hill to thank him. The letter is printed by Toynbee in his *Supplement to the Letters of Horace Walpole*, III, 144.

much better received. There were several reviews in the periodicals, some parts of which bordered on enthusiasm, as we shall see below. The poet Shenstone admired the *Odes* but wished Gray had been a little clearer; Mark Akenside had read them and offered a minor criticism.<sup>1</sup> Samuel Richardson was an admirer of Gray but thought the *Odes* somewhat obscure:

My opinion of Mr. Gray's *Odes*? You know I admire the author. I have heard that you and Mr. G—— have both studied them together, and have found out all their beauties. I have no doubt but they are numberless—but indeed have not had head clear enough to read them more than once, as yet. But from you, I expect the result of Mr. G——'s studies, and discoveries on the subject, as also your marginal notes; which will not, I hope, be too severe. . . .<sup>2</sup>

The *Bard* was familiar enough to the frequenters of the *salons* of the time for Elizabeth Montagu, queen of the Blue-Stockings, to be able to make a playful but appreciative reference to it in a casual manner: "It was as absurd in Christina to turn her philosophers into privy counsellors, as it would be to put Mr. Gray at the head of the tapestry manufacture because he has wove a web for Edward's line with the noblest images of poetry."<sup>3</sup>

Within Gray's own intimate circle there was nearly always a distinct approbation, but an enthusiasm often crept in which betrayed an attempt at consolation. The general cry was almost everywhere obscurity from the first. As early as August 17, we find Gray writing to Wharton: "We are not at all popular. The great objection is obscurity, no body knows what we would be at."<sup>4</sup> The intellectuals at Cambridge liked the *Odes*, but when Gray answers Richard Hurd's letter of critical approbation, the talk is all of obscurity:

As your acquaintance in the University (you say) do me the honour to admire, it would be ungenerous in me not to give them notice that they are doing a very unfashionable thing, for all people of condition are agreed not to

<sup>1</sup> *Gray Letters*, I, 348–54.

<sup>2</sup> Richardson to Miss Highmore, September 19, 1757, in *The Correspondence of Samuel Richardson* (ed. Anna Laetitia Barbauld; London, 1804), II, 310.

<sup>3</sup> E. M. to Benjamin Stillingfleet, September 15, 1757, in the *Letters of Mrs. Elizabeth Montagu* (pub. by Matthew Montagu, Esq. . . . ; Boston, 1825), III, 81. I am indebted for this and the preceding reference to the kindness of Professor Ronald S. Crane.

<sup>4</sup> *Gray Letters*, I, 345.

admire, nor even to understand. One great man, writing to an acquaintance of his and mine, says that he had read them seven or eight times, and that now, when he next sees him, he shall not have above thirty questions to ask. . . . Even my friends tell me they do not succeed, and write me moving topics of consolation on that head; in short, I have heard of nobody but a player and a doctor of divinity that profess their esteem for them. Oh yes! a lady of quality, a friend of Mason's, who is a great reader. She knew there was a compliment to Dryden, but never suspected there was anything said about Shakespeare or Milton, till it was explained to her; and wishes there had been titles prefixed to tell what they were about.<sup>1</sup>

It is indeed from the consoling commendations of some of Gray's friends that we get our best evidence of the lack of appreciation by the reading public as a whole. Mr. Bentley, son of the famous scholar Richard Bentley and designer for the 1753 special edition of Gray's poems, went up to Strawberry Hill on August 19, 1757, and, while waiting for Walpole's return, had Müntz set up some verses he had composed, which show plainly that the reading public preferred Richardson and thought Gray obscure. In these verses, which have been preserved in the Strawberry Hill journal, Bentley invokes the printing press, whose black arts shed sable dews without discernment, and continues:

Ah! when perform'd thy very best,  
Small good is brought to pass;  
Writers and Readers are increas'd,  
But Judgment's where it was.

Clarissa still and Grandison  
Their empire shall maintain;  
Congenial Souls their scepter own:  
Gray<sup>2</sup> waits for Sense's reign.

Truly to benefit Mankind  
I fear exceeds thy art;  
Thou canst not stamp upon the mind  
Nor print upon the heart.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 345-46.

<sup>2</sup> "This alludes to the two fine odes not meeting the applause they deserv'd."—Walpole.

<sup>3</sup> *Journal of the Printing-Office at Strawberry Hill* (ed. P. Toynbee), pp. 4-5; "Aug. 19. Mr. Bentley came to Strawberry Hill, & while Mr. Walpole was abroad, gave Mr. Müntz a sonnet which he set. . . . The Sonnet/ To/ The Printingpress at Strawberry hill." Cf. Walpole to Montagu, September 8, 1757, *Times Literary Supplement*, October 20, 1921.

The "doctor of divinity" mentioned in Gray's letter above is evidently Bishop Warburton, as appears in Gray's letter to Wharton on October 7, 1757:

Dr. Warburton is come to town, and likes them extremely. He says the world never passed so just an opinion upon anything as upon them: for that on other things they have affected to like or dislike, whereas here they own, they do not understand, which he looks upon to be very true; but yet thinks, they understand them as well as they do Milton or Shakespear, whom they are obliged by fashion to admire.<sup>1</sup>

Gray's more intimate friends had gone out of their way to cheer him up. Lady Cobham, his neighbor, had been very civil to him; her niece, Miss Speed, who had been much more intimate with the poet than most women, seemed to understand and to all such as did not would murmur *φωναντα συνετοισι* in so many words.<sup>2</sup> His Cambridge friend, Dr. Brown, said they were the finest odes in the language. Garrick was unusually solicitous; he and his wife visited the Cobhams and did much to keep Gray from being utterly despondent the first week after the appearance of the *Odes*. Mrs. Garrick, herself a famous dancer, told Walpole that Gray was the only poet who ever understood dancing.<sup>3</sup>

As early as August 5 Garrick had shown a great interest in the slim volume which he had just received from Strawberry Hill; he had read the odes in manuscript, and the poet had even made a slight change in the ending of the *Bard* at his suggestion. It is then with more than mere civility that he returns Walpole "ten thousand thanks for his most agreeable present."<sup>4</sup> During his visit at Stoke that very week, the actor doubtless noticed Gray's dejected mood and attributed it, perhaps to a large extent rightly, to the effect of the early unfavorable reception of the *Odes* which Gray mentions in his letters shortly after this. This very visit probably gave Garrick the inspiration for his complimentary verses, *To Mr. Gray on His Odes*, which appeared anonymously in the *London Chronicle* for October 15 and which Wal-

<sup>1</sup> *Gray Letters*, I, 366.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 351-52.

<sup>3</sup> *Walpole Letters*, IV, 85.

<sup>4</sup> Garrick to Walpole, in *Supplement to Walpole Letters*, III, 144.

<sup>5</sup> *London Chronicle, or Universal Evening Post*, Vol. II, No. 118 (September 29-October 1, 1757), p. 320, "To Mr. Gray, upon his Odes," unsigned but attributed to Mr. Garrick in the Index. Cf. Garrick's letter to Walpole, Newmarket, October 6 (*Supplement*, III, 146): "I am most prodigiously flattered by your opinion of the verses to Mr. Gray . . .," giving him free leave to dispose of them as he pleases.

pole printed at Strawberry Hill on October 17.<sup>1</sup> The first two stanzas of Garrick's verses are enough to show that the *Odes* had not up to that time been appreciated and understood by the general reading public because they were too far above the depraved popular taste:

Repine not, Gray, that our weak dazzled eyes  
Thy daring heights and brightness shun;  
How few can trace the eagle to the skies,  
Or, like him, gaze upon the sun!

Each gentle reader loves the gentle Muse,  
That little dares and little means;  
Who humbly sips her learning from *Reviews*,  
Or flutters in the *Magazines*.<sup>2</sup>

Gray's friends therefore, whether in Cambridge or London or elsewhere, liked his *Odes* very much. The polite world, on the other hand, was obviously interested in Gray and read his *Odes*, but, except for a few of the more discerning, like Walpole and Lord Lyttelton, did not appreciate them. It is difficult to ascertain exactly what the vast reading public outside these circles thought, but they doubtless, where they read at all, followed to a great extent the taste of the fashionable world or the opinions expressed in the reviews. Whether appreciated or not, it is not to be questioned that the *Odes* were widely read. Of the two thousand copies published by Dodsley, twelve or thirteen hundred were sold within about two weeks.<sup>3</sup> They were at least discussed in

<sup>1</sup> Sixty copies, each on a quarto sheet, were printed in all. I have seen two of them, one bound with Brit. Mus. 984.1.19 and another in Frederick Locker's copy of the 1757 *Odes* of Gray, now in the Widener Collection of the Harvard College Library. A copy, similar to the latter, was included in the recent sale of the Jerome Kern Collection, the *Catalogue* of which seeks to perpetuate the bibliographical hoax that only six copies of Garrick's verses were printed. Mr. George Parker Winship tells me that seven copies were exhibited at one time at a meeting of the Club of Odd Volumes. Cf. *Journal of the Printing-Office at Strawberry Hill*, pp. 5-6.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted from *London Chronicle*, II, 320. The whole piece may also be found in *Gray Letters*, I, 366, n. 3, or in *Correspondence of Gray, Walpole, West, and Ashton* (Oxford, 1915), II, 174 n.

<sup>3</sup> *Journal of the Printing-Office at Strawberry Hill*, p. 3: "Aug. 3d., 1000 copies finished; Aug. 8th., 2000 copies published by Dodsley." See also p. 77 for Walpole's notes on the press, written on four sides of a quarto sheet folded in two, preserved with the MS journal: "1000 of Mr. Gray's odes finished Aug. 3d. 2000 in all: published Aug. 8th." Gray to Brown, July 25, *Letters*, I, 340: "You must think it will take up some time to despatch 2000 copies." Gray to Mason (no date, but about the first of September), *ibid.*, p. 350: "If you chance to call yourself [at Dodsley's], you might enquire if many of my 2000 remain upon his hands. He told me about a fortnight ago about 12 or 1300 were gone." There is then little doubt that 2,000 copies were printed at Strawberry Hill for Dodsley, 1,000 of which had been finished by August 3. Whether this number includes the presentation copies of Walpole and Gray, which, as we know, were by no means few in



many circles, not all of which were by any means literary; they were announced in several periodicals, in at least four of the most reputable of which appeared long and careful reviews with excerpts.

### III

The *Odes* were published by Dodsley on August 8. On Tuesday, August 9, and for two days thereafter, a large two-inch advertisement of them in bold type appeared in the *Public Advertiser*, a considerable notice for a slim volume, seeming almost out of place among numerous non-literary notices, mostly of auction sales of goods taken from captured French vessels. I have not been able to find any notices in other newspapers,<sup>1</sup> but in the issue of *Lloyd's Evening Post and British Chronicle* for August 24-26 there appeared what may fairly safely be considered the first review of the *Odes*, since the monthly reviews came out late in the month or frequently on the first of the following month. The review is not very long and is quite fair, even though lacking in discernment. It begins with praise of the *Elegy* and the *Eton Ode*, compositions which the reviewer considers to be very different from the two odes in this volume. Speaking of the pleasure to be derived from those beauties peculiar to poetry, he goes on to say that minute correctness is often necessary to prevent disgust, and the effect of a lofty sentiment in one verse, may be destroyed by a ridiculous inaccuracy in another. It also unfortunately happens, that almost every inaccuracy which is committed in an attempt to be solemn and sublime is ridiculous, so that in this kind of writing, the disappointment of an author is often more than in proportion to his defects.

The writer continues by giving some detailed criticism, concluding much in the manner of a modern book-reviewer who desires rather to create curiosity than to pass judgment summarily:

This Ode [the *Bard*] is written in the same manner, and has the same excellencies and defects as the other. We shall give no extract from it, because we desire to increase rather than destroy curiosity, and because we are un-

number, is not known, but in any case the number is large, compared, for instance, with the 220 copies of Hentzner's *Journey into England*, printed soon afterward by Walpole. Cf. Dobson, *Horace Walpole*, p. 344; *Strawberry Hill Accounts*. . . (ed. Paget Toynbee; Oxford, 1927), pp. 94-96. This popularity of the *Odes* is given as one of the evidences of the growth of the reading public in the eighteenth century by A. S. Collins, in *Review of English Studies*, II (1926), 432.

<sup>1</sup> I have consulted the files of the *London Chronicle* and the *London Evening Post*, as well as other newspapers of the time in the British Museum, with the exception of provincial periodicals, which were usually copied or adapted from those of London.

willing to furnish any man who has a taste for polite literature, with an excuse for not purchasing the original, which must appear to greater disadvantage in fragments, in proportion to its excellence as a whole.<sup>1</sup>

One naturally expects from the monthly reviews more careful criticism and in the present case we are not at all disappointed. Practically every magazine of importance in London contained either a review or an announcement of Gray's *Odes*.<sup>2</sup> Oliver Goldsmith himself led the field with a review in the reputable and long-established *Monthly Review*, where he displayed an accuracy of judgment remarkable for the hack-writer who was as yet not even known by name to the public. He seems to sense the elements which will make the poems unsuitable for the general public:

As this publication seems designed for those who have formed their taste by the models of antiquity, the generality of readers cannot be supposed adequate judges of its merit; nor will the poet, it is presumed, be greatly disappointed if he finds them backward in commending a performance not entirely suited to their apprehension.

The reviewer is obviously not in sympathy with this attitude, as we may well imagine the future author of *The Deserted Village* would not be, but it does not prevent him from appreciating the poems for what they are. He rightly prefers the *Bard* and is lavish with praise:

The circumstances of grief and horror in which the Bard is represented, those of terror in the preparation of the votive web, and the mystic obscurity with which the prophecies are delivered, will give as much pleasure to those who relish this species of composition, as anything that has hitherto appeared in our language, the *Odes* of Dryden himself not excepted.<sup>3</sup>

The *Critical Review* (Professor Franklin, Gray was told)<sup>4</sup> was truly in raptures, but the writer has neither the judgment nor the style of Goldsmith. The opening paragraph is typical of the whole; the obscurity which readers have felt only serves, he feels, to enhance the mysterious effect of the poems as a whole:

<sup>1</sup> *Lloyd's Evening Post*, I (1757), 124.

<sup>2</sup> Among those magazines which carried literary news of importance, three had long, carefully written reviews, while notices appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for August, 1757, in the *Universal Magazine of Knowledge and Pleasure*, XXI (1757), 95, and in Martin, "Misc. Corr.," *General Magazine of Arts and Sciences*, II (September, 1757), 639. Of all monthly periodicals from the year 1757 now in the British Museum, only the *New Universal Magazine* seems to have no notice whatever of the *Odes*. The *London Magazine*, which usually contained only articles of a political nature, carried an announcement of the *Odes* in the list of books for June and July (*sic*), 1757, *London Mag.*, XXVI, 368.

<sup>3</sup> *Monthly Review*, XVII (August, 1757), 239-43.

<sup>4</sup> *Gray Letters*, I, 348-54.

We with particular pleasure seize every opportunity of congratulating our country on the productions of real taste and genius. Mr. Gray has already entertained the public, with some pieces of lyric poetry, which, in our opinion, would not have disgraced the purest ages of antiquity: and we think the two odes now before us, fully answer the expectation, which the world had a right to form from the more early specimens of his poetical talent. Here we not only find the charming variety and sweetness of versification, . . . but also the fire, the wildness and enthusiasm of Pindar. Perhaps he has imitated him too closely, in affecting an obscurity of transition. Though even this obscurity affords a kind of mysterious veil, which gives a venerable and classical air to the performance.<sup>1</sup>

These two last reviews have long been known, since both of them are mentioned by Gray in his letters. The newspaper review, however, and the longest literary review of all, that in the *Literary Magazine* for September, 1757, have, as far as I know, never before been mentioned. The latter is quite long and, coming as it does a month or so later than the others, has the benefit of much public discussion. It coincides almost identically with the poet's own conception of his odes and his attitude toward the popular cry of obscurity, and it may conceivably have been written at Mason's, that is to say, Gray's request, as is suggested in the postscript of a letter from Gray to Mason about the first of September, 1757: "You talk of writing a comment. I do not desire you should be employed in any such office; but what if Delap (inspired by a little of your intelligence) should do such a matter; it will get him a shilling; but it must bear no name, nor must he know I mentioned it."<sup>2</sup> Whether inspired by Mason's intelligence or not, the review is very much in line with Gray's own ideas and serves admirably to sum up the whole situation, in point of time, attitude, and material discussed. Since it is important to the subject under discussion and since it is so little accessible, I shall quote freely from this review in the *Literary Magazine*:

From the reception which the odes now before us, have met with from the generality of readers, it evidently appears that the two Greek words from Pindar were selected with great propriety, and with a kind of fore knowledge that these little compositions would be caviar to the multitude. With justice

<sup>1</sup> *Critical Review*, IV (August, 1757), 167-70.

<sup>2</sup> *Gray Letters*, I, 350. If Mason got in touch with Delap right away, the article could have been easily written in time for the publication of the September number at the end of the month. For more about Delap, see J. W. Draper, *William Mason* (New York, 1924), p. 53. The *Monthly Review*, LXXV (1786), 60, speaks of him, in connection with his later literary achievements, as a "clergyman of reputation and a scholar."

therefore the author has addressed them to the intelligent few, *φωναῖτα σπουδαῖσι*; and surely no man of candour will desire to hinder Mr. Gray from enjoying, in common with all his Majesty's subjects, the privilege of putting himself on his trial by his *Peers*. Poetry is indeed a crying sin; much the more so, when it is really good; then juries are packed; the dunces are all for including themselves in the pannell, and GUILTY is sure to be the verdict: this, we apprehend, has been the fate of Mr. Gray, in regard to his last publication. It is however some consolation that "your d—d poet lives and writes again," and that such a poet may write again, whatever be said of him by the mob of judges, will always be the wish of the few, to whom he has made his appeal.

Nothing could, I feel, more plainly summarize the condition which I have endeavored in this paper to point out. The reviewer, moreover, continues to pile up evidence in a tone of satirical humor worthy of Gray himself in his lighter, scornful moods:

No modern poetry, we believe, has had more critics than these odes; "how do ye like Gray's odes?—can't say?—don't you think they're very unintelligible?—damnably so—what do you think of *many-twinkling feet*?—very affected—and then *with arms sublime that float upon the air*—was ever such an image?—only think of that—awkward enough! and then such Spittle-fields poetry as it is—*weave the warp and weave the woof*, etc." A more sober critic indeed has come abroad, who gravely proposes a various reading in the last mentioned place. . . .

At this point the writer breaks off to ridicule in a mild fashion the reviewer, doubtless Franklin of the *Critical Review*, a Greek professor, who knows so much of weaving, of musical instruments, and of dancing. A dissertation on the Aeolian lyre follows, after which the critic begins an exposition of the beauties of the *Progress of Poetry*:

The opening shows the author's imagination to be already on fire. . . . Nothing can be more glowing than the whole strophe; it rises upon us in every line, till at length it is wound up to a wonderful fulness of harmony . . . what can be sweeter than the opening of the antistrophe: I have never been able to read it without feeling very affecting emotions. [Quotation follows, beginning, "Oh, Sovereign of the willing soul."] He that hath not a soul willing to be touched with these lines, must be of a temper uncommonly impassive. . . . Upon the whole, we think the prophecy of the Latin lyrist in regard to all, who aspire to emulate Pindar, has been at length overthrown by Mr. Gray. . . . Sublimity of conception, a nobleness in his diction, daring figures, beginning, quick transition, harmony of numbers, and an enthusiasm that hurries the reader along with him, are all to be found in this poet, nor can we perceive in this ode anything of *that unintelligible obscure which has been in everybody's mouth*.

The second instalment of this review takes up the *Bard*, a subject than which nothing, the critic thinks, can be more happily conceived. He takes a great deal of pains to point out its beauties and makes it quite clear that he is by no means in sympathy with the general cry of obscurity:

Before we enter into an examination of the poetical beauties of this piece, we have judged it not improper to draw up a plain synopsis of it, stripped of the graces of composition, that we may see our author's design upon the naked canvas, before he has given it his high-wrought colouring. *To this we are induced by the prevalence of a general complaint*, namely, that the whole is wrapped up in dark and impenetrable obscurity. But this obscurity, we apprehend, must vanish, if the reader will but give himself time to consider that our author, throughout the piece, insists chiefly upon historical facts; and surely those facts well digested in the mind, Mr. Gray's allusions to them will no longer appear incoherent or unintelligible . . . . [There follows a paragraph on the historical background of the *Bard*.] This is the superstructure rais'd by Mr. Gray upon the foundation already mentioned; and we would now beg of any man, to whom this ode was before unintelligible, to cast his eye over it once more, and in candour he will acknowledge it is *not Gray that nods, but himself that dreams*. . . . With regard to the poetical merit of this piece, we think it greatly superior to the first ode. . . . and perhaps inferior to very few pieces in our language.

Following this general introduction to a study of the *Bard*, there are several paragraphs of detailed criticism, mostly of a favorable nature. The reviewer ends by quoting Garrick's complimentary verses to Gray, but his final decision is that the *Bard*, at least, "contains all species of eloquence which Longinus makes the constituents of the sublime, namely; 1st, an elevation of sentiment, 2nd, a pathetic vehemence, 3d, a bold combination of figures, 4th, a splendid diction, and 5th, a beautiful harmony of parts in the whole composition."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Odes by Mr. Gray," *Literary Magazine, or Universal Review*, II, No. XVIII (September 15–October 15, 1757), 422–26, 466–68. The italics, except for quotations from the *Odes*, are mine. According to W. P. Courtney and D. Nichol Smith, *A Bibliography of Samuel Johnson* (Oxford, 1925), pp. 75–77, Dr. Johnson "superintended and contributed largely" to the *Literary Magazine*. It is to be noted that he contributed a number of articles and reviews to the first seven numbers, but after that appear only two reviews by him, one in No. XIII and the other scattered through Nos. XIII, XIV, and XV. The review of Gray's *Odes*, which appeared in No. XVIII, is in every way opposed to the rather hostile attitude expressed by Johnson in his famous life of Gray in 1781. It is therefore safe to conclude either that Dr. Johnson entertained no such views on Gray when the *Odes* were first published or that he had relinquished any control he may have had over the *Literary Magazine* before No. XVIII appeared about October 15, 1757.

Dr. Johnson, in his life of Gray more than twenty years later, intimates that the reading public had been led by that time to see beauties in the *Odes* which at the time of their appearance they had not been able to discover, but the general criticism of obscurity was still strong enough in 1760 to call forth a parody on the *Bard*, entitled *To Obscurity*, beginning:

Daughter of Chaos and old Night,  
Cimmerian Muse, all hail!  
That wrapt in never-twinkling gloom canst write,  
And shadowest meaning with thy dusky veil!

The parodist goes on to describe Pegasus mounted by the Bard, who urges the steed "up Snowdon's shaggy side, or Cambrian rock uncouth," on up to the stars, from which great height he topples headlong, "Deep in the Cambrian gulph immerg'd in endless night."<sup>1</sup> Warburton thought it miserable abuse,<sup>2</sup> but Dr. Grainger told Percy<sup>3</sup> he hoped it would produce a proper change in the further compositions of Mason and Gray, which he had always felt to be too obscure. The verses were extensively quoted in the *Gentleman's Magazine*,<sup>4</sup> and a long review of them appeared in the *Monthly Review*,<sup>5</sup> but Gray decided to remain silent.<sup>6</sup> Parody is sometimes bitter medicine, especially when one is constantly reminded of an obscurity more or less intended, but there is some comfort in knowing that the objects of satire had at least to be pretty widely known for the parody to be understood.

#### IV

What effect did all this have on Gray? What was the poet's attitude toward this public which read him and then cursed him for his obscurity or jested wittily about his *Odes*? Even before publication

<sup>1</sup> George Colman and Robert Lloyd, *Two Odes*, London, 1760. The title-page contains the quotation from Pindar which appears in Gray's *Odes*. Cf. Northup, *Bibliography of Gray*, pp. 65, 204.

<sup>2</sup> Warburton to Hurd, June 17, 1760, *Letters from an Eminent Prelate to one of his Friends* (London: T. Cadell & W. Davies, n.d.), p. 225.

<sup>3</sup> Nichols, *Illustrations of the Literary History of the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1848), VII, 275.

<sup>4</sup> *Gent. Mag.*, XXX (1760), 291.

<sup>5</sup> *Mon. Rev.*, XXIII (1760), 57-63: "executed with considerable spirit, tho' intended with little candour."

<sup>6</sup> Gray to Mason, June 7, 1760, *Letters*, II, 141; to Wharton, *ibid.*, p. 147. On this whole matter of the parody odes see Draper, *William Mason*, pp. 51-52.



the cry of obscurity had arisen, and Gray's attitude of playful humor, possibly affected to conceal his real concern at first,<sup>1</sup> changed to one of indifference and scorn of his public, an attitude which, although most certainly affected, he maintained during the rest of his life. It is as if he had made his choicest offering, and, when it was seemingly rejected, answered his critics with silence and his public with scorn. It was Walpole who first sensed the scholarly background of the two odes and the consequent obscurity, but Gray refused his request for notes: "If the press stands still all this time for me, to be sure it is dead in childbed. I do not love notes, though you see I had resolved to put two or three."<sup>2</sup>

Whether the poet's consistent scorn of the public's opinion of his *Odes* was sincere or not, there is no doubt concerning his anxiety to know what his close friends, especially those who were themselves scholars or writers, would think of them. In May, 1757, when he sends to Mason the newly finished conclusion to the *Bard*, he begs his full and true opinion of it immediately and hints that Mr. Hurd has read it and passed favorable judgment upon it.<sup>3</sup> Again in June, when he sends the other parts of the *Bard* to Mason, he is uncertain about his new work and banters freely with his intimate friend in order to hide his concern, but tells him at the same time that not only Mr. Hurd, but also two other Cambridge scholars, Bonfoy and Neville, had seen them.<sup>4</sup> The two odes were therefore undoubtedly fairly well known in the circle of Gray's intimate friends, especially at Cambridge, before they were even offered to Dodsley for publication.

It is evident from his sending some two dozen copies of the *Odes* to be distributed among the litterati of Cambridge that Gray consid-

<sup>1</sup> The two phases of this early attitude are brought close together in Gray's letter to Mason in May, 1757 (*Letters*, I, 331-33), which opens in a playful manner, speaking of the tender tall, which Odikie, like Scroddles, has grown, "and here it is; if you do not like it you may kiss it." The letter ends, however, with concern over Mason's opinion of his work: "I am well aware of many weakly things here, but I hope the end will do. Pray give me your full and true opinion, and that not upon deliberation, but forthwith."

<sup>2</sup> To Walpole, July 11, 1757, *Letters*, I, 339. There were in the original edition four notes, besides the introductory explanation, to the *Bard*, but none to the *Progress of Poetry*. Apropos of this request of Walpole for notes, Mason has a rather naïve explanation in his 1778 edition of Gray's poems, I, 20: "When the author first published this and the following Ode he was advised, even by his friends, to subjoin some few explanatory notes; but he had too much respect for the understanding of his readers to take that liberty."

<sup>3</sup> *Gray Letters*, I, 333.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 334.



ered this perhaps the highest court of criticism. If they should reject the poems, he had failed; but if they approved and seemed to understand, then the public be damned. He practically says as much to Brown in his impatience at not having heard anything from Cambridge some five or six days after the publication of the *Odes*:

Excuse me if I begin to wonder a little that I have heard no news of you in so long a time. I conclude you received Dodsley's packet at least a week ago, and made my presents. You will not wonder therefore at my curiosity, if I enquire of you what you hear said; for, though in the rest of the world I do not expect to hear that anybody says much, or thinks about the matter, yet among *mes confrères*, the learned, I know there is always leisure, at least to find fault, if not to commend.<sup>1</sup>

Three days later, August 17, still having heard nothing, Gray sends Wharton some of the things he has heard in town; the discerning few seem to be fewer than even he had expected and he is admittedly quite downcast, having not yet the support of the *souverai*:

It feels to me as if it were a long while since I heard from you. Not a word to flatter or abash the vanity of an Author! Suffer me then to tell you, we are not at all popular. . . . You will imagine all this does not go very deep; but I have been almost ever since I was here exceedingly dispirited, besides being really ill in body. . . . The Cobhams are here, and as civil as usual. Garrick and his wife have been down with them some days, and are soon to come again. Except the little amusement they give me, & two volumes of the *Encyclopedie* now almost exhausted, I have nothing but my own thoughts to feed upon, and you will know they are of the gloomy cast. Write to me then for *sweet St. Charity*.<sup>2</sup>

On August 25, when he answers Richard Hurd's letter of critical approbation, although still in ill health, the poet has greatly improved in spirits and has developed the neatly cynical attitude toward his public which he maintains during the rest of his life.<sup>3</sup> Gray probably chuckled over the *naïveté* of some of the criticism which came to his ears, but some of the comments must have hurt and annoyed him con-

<sup>1</sup> August 14, 1757, *Letters*, I, 344. In a letter to Walpole, August 10, congratulating him upon the volume he had just printed ("very pleasant to the eye, and will do no dishonour to your Press") and calling attention to some minor inaccuracies, Gray desires he would tell him what he hears anybody say, if anybody says anything. This letter, the original of which is in the Waller Collection, is printed by Toynbee in the *Correspondence of Gray, Walpole, West, and Ashton* (Oxford, 1915), II, 171-73.

<sup>2</sup> *Gray Letters*, I, 345-46.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 346-47. For excerpts from this letter see above, pp. 68-69.

the cry of obscurity had arisen, and Gray's attitude of playful humor, possibly affected to conceal his real concern at first,<sup>1</sup> changed to one of indifference and scorn of his public, an attitude which, although most certainly affected, he maintained during the rest of his life. It is as if he had made his choicest offering, and, when it was seemingly rejected, answered his critics with silence and his public with scorn. It was Walpole who first sensed the scholarly background of the two odes and the consequent obscurity, but Gray refused his request for notes: "If the press stands still all this time for me, to be sure it is dead in childbed. I do not love notes, though you see I had resolved to put two or three."<sup>2</sup>

Whether the poet's consistent scorn of the public's opinion of his *Odes* was sincere or not, there is no doubt concerning his anxiety to know what his close friends, especially those who were themselves scholars or writers, would think of them. In May, 1757, when he sends to Mason the newly finished conclusion to the *Bard*, he begs his full and true opinion of it immediately and hints that Mr. Hurd has read it and passed favorable judgment upon it.<sup>3</sup> Again in June, when he sends the other parts of the *Bard* to Mason, he is uncertain about his new work and banters freely with his intimate friend in order to hide his concern, but tells him at the same time that not only Mr. Hurd, but also two other Cambridge scholars, Bonfoy and Neville, had seen them.<sup>4</sup> The two odes were therefore undoubtedly fairly well known in the circle of Gray's intimate friends, especially at Cambridge, before they were even offered to Dodsley for publication.

It is evident from his sending some two dozen copies of the *Odes* to be distributed among the litterati of Cambridge that Gray consid-

<sup>1</sup> The two phases of this early attitude are brought close together in Gray's letter to Mason in May, 1757 (*Letters*, I, 331-33), which opens in a playful manner, speaking of the tender tale, which Odikle, like Scroddles, has grown, "and here it is; if you do not like it you may kiss it." The letter ends, however, with concern over Mason's opinion of his work: "I am well aware of many weakly things here, but I hope the end will do. Pray give me your full and true opinion, and that not upon deliberation, but forthwith."

<sup>2</sup> To Walpole, July 11, 1757, *Letters*, I, 339. There were in the original edition four notes, besides the introductory explanation, to the *Bard*, but none to the *Progress of Poetry*. Apropos of this request of Walpole for notes, Mason has a rather naïve explanation in his 1778 edition of Gray's poems, I, 20: "When the author first published this and the following Ode he was advised, even by his friends, to subjoin some few explanatory notes; but he had too much respect for the understanding of his readers to take that liberty."

<sup>3</sup> *Gray Letters*, I, 333.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 334.

ered this perhaps the highest court of criticism. If they should reject the poems, he had failed; but if they approved and seemed to understand, then the public be damned. He practically says as much to Brown in his impatience at not having heard anything from Cambridge some five or six days after the publication of the *Odes*:

Excuse me if I begin to wonder a little that I have heard no news of you in so long a time. I conclude you received Dodsley's packet at least a week ago, and made my presents. You will not wonder therefore at my curiosity, if I enquire of you what you hear said; for, though in the rest of the world I do not expect to hear that anybody says much, or thinks about the matter, yet among *mes confrères*, the learned, I know there is always leisure, at least to find fault, if not to commend.<sup>1</sup>

Three days later, August 17, still having heard nothing, Gray sends Wharton some of the things he has heard in town; the discerning few seem to be fewer than even he had expected and he is admittedly quite downcast, having not yet the support of the *souveroi*:

It feels to me as if it were a long while since I heard from you. Not a word to flatter or abash the vanity of an Author! Suffer me then to tell you, we are not at all popular. . . . You will imagine all this does not go very deep; but I have been almost ever since I was here exceedingly dispirited, besides being really ill in body. . . . The Cobhams are here, and as civil as usual. Garrick and his wife have been down with them some days, and are soon to come again. Except the little amusement they give me, & two volumes of the *Encyclopédie* now almost exhausted, I have nothing but my own thoughts to feed upon, and you will know they are of the gloomy cast. Write to me then for *sweet St. Charity*.<sup>2</sup>

On August 25, when he answers Richard Hurd's letter of critical approbation, although still in ill health, the poet has greatly improved in spirits and has developed the neatly cynical attitude toward his public which he maintains during the rest of his life.<sup>3</sup> Gray probably chuckled over the *naïveté* of some of the criticism which came to his ears, but some of the comments must have hurt and annoyed him con-

<sup>1</sup> August 14, 1757, *Letters*, I, 344. In a letter to Walpole, August 10, congratulating him upon the volume he had just printed ("very pleasant to the eye, and will do no dishonour to your Press") and calling attention to some minor inaccuracies, Gray desires he would tell him what he hears anybody say, if anybody says anything. This letter, the original of which is in the Waller Collection, is printed by Toynbee in the *Correspondence of Gray, Walpole, West, and Ashton* (Oxford, 1915), II, 171-73.

<sup>2</sup> *Gray Letters*, I, 345-46.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 346-47. For excerpts from this letter see above, pp. 68-69.

siderably. Robert Wood, protégé of the powerful Mr. Pitt, was frankly disappointed in his expectations; Akenside, for whom Gray once confessed a dislike to Norton Nicholls,<sup>1</sup> offered a minor criticism; and one might multiply the illustrations. Gray seemed hurt when Lord Nuneham had not acknowledged a presentation copy of the *Odes* after a month,<sup>2</sup> and he was frankly displeased when the three lords at the York races bought him and put him in their pockets, muttering obscurity.

Garrick saw how things were going and tried to console Gray with his complimentary verses. By the time the actor's verses were printed, however, it made little difference to Gray; he had withdrawn into his shell some weeks before. He had published his warning to the world that he was writing for the intelligentsia alone, characteristically expressing his feeling in a motto in Greek on the title-page, but the discerning were fewer than even he had expected. He was anxious only that those very few whom he considered able critics should understand and approve, but the reading public, especially the fashionable world, was too much interested in the popular author of the *Elegy* and in Horace Walpole's queer doings at Strawberry Hill to allow the *Odes* to pass unnoticed. They read them, and having read them they talked about them. They cried out that they were obscure, and Gray, looking only to the judgment of his peers who were themselves poets and scholars, was disgusted at the popular disapproval.<sup>3</sup> "I would not have put another note to save the souls of all the owls in London," he writes to Mason. "It is extremely well as it is—nobody understands me, and I am perfectly satisfied. . . . It is very well; the next thing I print shall be in Welch,—that's all."<sup>4</sup> Six years later he has not forgotten; he sums up very concisely his whole purpose and attitude in the matter of the Pindaric odes in a letter to his friend, Rev. James Brown: "The Odes in question, as their motto shews, were meant to be *vocal to the intelligent alone*. How few *they* were in my own country,

<sup>1</sup> *Reminiscences of Gray*, in Tovey, *Letters of Gray*, II (1913), 280.

<sup>2</sup> *Gray Letters*, I, 350.

<sup>3</sup> That Gray was not averse to careful criticism, even at great length, is shown by the readiness with which he received nine pages of critical notes on the *Bard* from an anonymous correspondent at Andover (*Letters*, I, 371, 375) and sent for "as many more on the *Progress of Poetry*," despite the man's frankness, which Gray thinks approaches rudeness. Cf. Gray to Mason, January 3, 1758 (*Letters*, II, 4-5), and Mason's reply (*ibid.*, p. 5).

<sup>4</sup> *Letters*, I, 348-50.

Mr. Howe can testify; and yet my ambition was terminated by that circle."<sup>1</sup>

Yes, the poet will add some notes to the *Odes* for the 1768 collected edition of his poems, but it is a concession to a public he does not care for, a gesture, as it were, of contempt, showing that he had not entirely forgotten 1757 and the public reception of his Pindaric odes. These are small notes, he explains to the poet Beattie, who was sponsoring the edition to be published in Scotland by Foulis, "just to explain what people said at the time was wrapped in total darkness."<sup>2</sup> And again a month or so later: ". . . And as to the notes, I do it out of spite, because the public did not understand the two Odes (which I have called Pindaric); though the first was not very dark, and the second alluded to a few common facts to be found in any sixpenny history of England, by way of question and answer, for the use of children."<sup>3</sup>

A little later he tells Walpole in a cynical manner about adding "certain little Notes, partly from justice (to acknowledge the debt where I had borrowed anything), partly from ill temper, just to tell the gentle reader that Edward I was not Oliver Cromwell, nor Queen Elizabeth the Witch of Endor."<sup>4</sup> Gray is, it seems, right in most of his judgments concerning the public; he is justified in most of his scorn of public opinion, but all his protestations, from his refusal of Walpole's request for notes to his reasons for inserting notes in the 1768 edition of his poems, merely serve to emphasize the fact that, although widely read and much talked about, the *Odes* were not understood or appreciated by the general reading public.

<sup>1</sup> Gray to Brown, February 17, 1763, *Letters*, III, 8. Gray shows also very plainly in his letter to Count Algarotti, September 9, 1763 (*Letters*, III, 21-25), that he considers poetry to be only for the liberally educated, whereas the other arts are almost of necessity subject "to the prevailing taste of those, whose fortune only distinguishes them from the multitude." Gray concludes by stating quite frankly that he cares to be admired only by the select few: "Sir, I will only add, that I am proud of your approbation, having no relish for any other fame than what is conferred by the few real judges, that are so thinly scattered over the face of the earth." (The italics are mine.)

<sup>2</sup> December 24, 1767, *Letters*, III, 163.

<sup>3</sup> February 1, 1768, *Letters*, III, 175. Cf. Beattie to Robert Arbuthnot, February 25, 1768, in Beattie's *Letters, The British Prose Writers* (London, 1820), XXV, II, 47: "The notes are chiefly illustrations of the two Pindaric odes, more copious, indeed, than I should have thought necessary; but, I understand, he is not a little chagrined at the complaints which have been made of their obscurity; and he tells me, that he wrote these notes out of spite." See Northup, in *Englische Studien*, XLIII (1910), 153.

<sup>4</sup> Gray to Walpole, February 25, 1768, *Letters*, III, 186.

The situation, as I have tried to point it out in this paper, is briefly this: For several reasons the reading public was interested in whatever Gray should write. They did not quite understand the Pindaric odes with their exalted imagination, their elaborate metrical scheme, and, most of all, their historical allusions, but this may only have served to increase their curiosity. In any case the *Odes*, of which a comparatively large number of copies had been printed, not only sold rapidly but were also widely read and much discussed. The general criticism was obscurity, although intelligent readers, like Lord Lyttelton, Bishop Warburton, and Horace Walpole, had no trouble in understanding them at the first reading. There were at least four long reviews in periodicals of the time, two of which—those in the *Monthly Review* and in the *Literary Magazine*—were excellent pieces of running criticism, showing that the very qualities of sublimity and enthusiasm which made the poems great made them at the same time unintelligible, or at least unacceptable, to the average reader. Gray's motto, and his comment as well, was "vocal to the intelligent," but he was greatly annoyed as well as amused by the comments of the general public. Gray looked for judgment on his *Odes* only from a jury of his peers, but the average reader was not willing to leave the eminent poet, the composer of the popular *Elegy*, to his scholarly audience. The public, which he more often despised than not, bought him and read him, and then pronounced their judgment of obscurity rather vociferously.

W. POWELL JONES

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

LOS NOMBRES DE ANIMALES PUROS E IMPUROS  
EN LAS TRADUCCIONES MEDIEVALES  
ESPAÑOLAS DE LA BIBLIA. II

UNA vez indicados los hebraísmos y latinismos, veamos las palabras españolas que se hallan en el resto de las listas que publico;<sup>1</sup> el signo = lo empleo para indicar 'traduce.' Cuando no advierto nada acerca de la palabra que se traduce es que no puedo asegurarlo, especialmente en las referencias a las versiones *ES*, *E7* II, *An* II, y *E19*.

ABESTRUZ véase AUESTRUZ.

ABUBILLA *E7* II<sub>16</sub>, *F* VII<sub>13</sub>, *habubilla* *E7* VII<sub>20</sub>, *E19* II<sub>7</sub>, *An* II<sub>16</sub>, *E3* VII<sub>5</sub>, *HABUILLA* *E3* II<sub>11</sub>, *HABUBIELLA* *GE* II<sub>19</sub>, VII<sub>20</sub>, *HABUBA* *E8* II<sub>19</sub>,

<sup>1</sup> En las observaciones sobre vocabulario empleo, entre otras más fáciles de comprender, las siguientes abreviaturas:

*Ayala, Caça* = Pero Lopez de Ayala, *Aves de Caça* (ed. Gayangos). Madrid, 1869.

*Astronomía* = Libros del saber de astronomía del rey Don Alfonso X de Castilla (ed. Rico y Sinobas), Vol. I. Madrid, 1863.

*Casas* = Christoval de las Casas, *Vocabulario de las dos lenguas toscana y castellana*. Sevilla, 1570.

*Cast. y Docs.* = Castigos y Documentos atribuidos al rey Don Sancho, en *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, Tomo LI.

*Covarrubias* = Sebastian Covarruuias, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana*. Madrid, 1611.

*Eguilaz* = Egulaz, *Glosario etimológico de las palabras españolas ... de origen oriental*. Granada, 1886.

*Espéculo* = Alfonso X, *Opúsculos Legales*, Tomo I: *El Espéculo* (ed. Acad. Hist.). Madrid, 1836.

*Gran Conq.* = *La Gran Conquista de Ultramar*, en *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, Tomo XLIV.

*JManuel, Cau. et Esc.* = Don Juan Manuel, *El Libro del Cauallero et del Escudero* (ed. S. Gräfenberg), en *Romanische Forschungen*, Vol. VII.

*JRuiz* = Juan Ruiz, *Libro de Buen Amor* (ed. Ducamin). Toulouse, 1901.

*MzPidal, Sufijos* = R. Menéndez Pidal, *Sufijos átonos en español*, en *Bausteine z. rom. Phil. Festgabe f. A. Mussafia*. Halle, 1905.

*Nebrija 1492* = A. A. Nebrissensis, *Dictionarium latino-hispanicum*. Salamanca, 1492.

*Nebrija 1545 y Nebrija 1729* indican dos ediciones de la misma obra.

*Oudin* = Cesar Oudin, *Tesoro de las dos lenguas francesa y española*. Paris, 1616.

*Palet* = Ioan Palet, *Diccionario muy copioso de la lengua española y francesa*. Bruxelles, 1606.

*Prim. Crón.* = Alfonso X, *Primera Crónica General* (ed. R. Menéndez Pidal). Madrid, 1906.

*Partidas* = *Las siete Partidas del rey don Alfonso el Sabio* (ed. Acad. Hist.). Madrid, 1807. 3 vols.

*Rosal* = Francisco del Rosal, *Origen y etimología de la lengua castellana* (MS de la Bibl. Nac. Madrid).

*REWb* = W. Meyer Lübcke, *Romanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*. Heidelberg, 1911. (No pongo las etimologías aceptadas y únicamente lo cito cuando hay alguna discusión sobre la palabra de que se trate.)

*Scio* = *La Sagrada Biblia traducida al español de la Vulgata latina* por F. Scio de San Miguel, Tomo I. Barcelona, 1863.

[MODERN PHILOLOGY, August, 1930]



VII<sub>20</sub>, B VII<sub>20</sub>, LA BUBA (error de copista por HABUBA) B II<sub>19</sub>; E7 VII, GE, E8 y B = Vu *upupa*; F = acaso H *yanšuf*, y la inseguridad procede de que hay desorden en varias palabras y de que *yanšuf* lo tradujo F en el pasaje II por *lechuza*. Obsérvese que son más abundantes los casos de la palabra con *h* inicial que sin ella; se encuentra con *h* en los diccionarios de Casas, Rosal, Nebrija 1729, etc.; no conozco casos de *fabubilla* y por tanto esta *h* no etimológica no es igual a la de *hallar*, *haz*, *henchir*, *hinchar*, *hinojos*, palabras citadas por J. H. English, *The Alternation of H and F in Old Spanish*, New York, 1926. De *upupa*, REWb, 9076; *habuba*, sin diminutivo, es derivado también de *upupa*, con la misma *a* inicial por disimilación; sobre *abubilla* véase V. García de Diego, *Bol. Acad. Esp.*, VI, 747.

ABUTRE F II<sub>6</sub>, VII<sub>16</sub> = H *ʿayyāh* 'buitre negro.' Es un portuguesismo, y no debe ser el único que se encuentre en F.

AÇOR ES II<sub>5</sub>, VII<sub>5</sub>, E7 II<sub>9</sub>, VII<sub>10</sub>, E19 II<sub>8</sub>, F II<sub>2</sub>, VII<sub>2</sub>, B VII<sub>11</sub>; AZTOR GE II<sub>10</sub>, VII<sub>11</sub>, E8 VII<sub>11</sub>; F = H *pérés* 'azor' o 'quebrantahuesos'; GE, E8, B = Vu *accipiter*; E7 VII<sub>10</sub> = Vu *larus*. Sobre esta palabra véase Castro, *RFE*, VIII, 18.

AGUILA en todas las versiones, II<sub>1</sub>, VII<sub>1</sub> = H *nēšer* o Vu *aquila*. Las únicas variantes son las de E7 II<sub>1</sub> AGUILLA, An II<sub>1</sub>, At VII<sub>1</sub> AGILA.

ALCOTAN GE II<sub>2</sub>, VII<sub>2</sub>, E19 II<sub>15</sub>; GE = Vu *haliaetus* y añade su sinónimo *esmereion*, *esmerillon*; esta sinonimia está atestiguada por Casas: "Alcotan aue, *smertilio*," Palet: "Alcotan, *Esmerillon oyseau*," Nebrija 1729: "Alcotan o esmerejon *nisus*, *i*, *alietus*, *i*." Obsérvese que éste último da además la equivalencia con *haliaetus*; en cambio Gayangos, en su glosario de Ayala, *Caça*, dice: "especie de halcón, mayor que el gavián y menor que el esmerejón." Del árabe قَطَام *catām*, según Eguilaz.

ALETA E8, B II<sub>3</sub>, VII<sub>3</sub> = Vu *haliaetus*. "Et crian en las tierras de contra el çierço delas [aues] que caçan, asi commo los alcotanes, et las aletas, et los milanos prietos et los çernicoles delas vñas blancas" (JManuel, *Cau. et Esc.*, p. 504). Es el moderno *aleto*, *haliato*, convertido en *aleta* quizás por etimología popular.

AUTILLO, HIJA DEL F II<sub>7</sub>, VII<sub>8</sub> = H *bath hayyaʿanāh* 'avestruz,' conservando el hebraísmo 'hija de los gritos' y buscando un ave gritadora, *autillo*, que podría apoyarse en Nebrija 1492: "Autillo, aue nocturna, *vlula*, *ae*" y en el verbo *otilar* 'aullar el lobo' recogido por Borao, *Dicc.*

de voces aragonesas; *autillo* es ave 'parecida a la lechuza' según *Dicc. Acad.* No encuentro *autillo* en textos medievales. *REWb*, 6123, rechaza la etimología del gr. *otus* dada por Diez, 428; es sin duda un semicultismo derivado de *altilium*, "avium altilium" en *Thesaurus*, s.v. *altilis*, y "altilis nomen est auis," *Corpus gloss. Lat.*, IV, 307<sub>38</sub>, y V, 438<sub>57</sub>.

AUESTRUZ *E4* II<sub>7</sub>, VII<sub>8</sub>, ABESTRUZ *E3* II<sub>7</sub>, VII<sub>8</sub>; *E3*, *E4*=*H bath hayya*-*anáh*.

AZORRAFA *E3* V<sub>10</sub>=*H zémér* o *Vu camelopardalus*. Scio se equivoca al hacer corresponder este nombre con *pygargus* en *E3*. Se encuentra *azorafa* en la *Crón. Alfonso el Sabio* en *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, LXVI, 8b, y *azorabas* en *Gran Conq.*, 4b, ejemplos citados por Eguilaz, quien da la significación de 'girafa'; ésta coincide bien con *Vu camelopardalus*, pues sobre el significado de *zémér* hay dudas y mejor podría ser la 'cabra silvestre'; creo, sin embargo, que *E3* traduce del hebreo. Del árabe *الزرافة* *azorafa*, *Dicc. Acad.*, y Wiener, p. 53.

AZTOR véase AÇOR.

BAUOSA *E7*, *An* IV<sub>7</sub>, BABOSA *F* IV<sub>7</sub>=*H hómét*, "*hómét*, ... d'après le Talmud, ce serait la limace ou l'escargot" (Vigouroux, I, 624). Cf. Nebrija 1492: "babosa, gusano que bauea, *limax*, *acis*"; Palet y Oudin: "babosa, *limaçon*, *escargot*."

BORREGO DE CARNEROS *E3* V<sub>2</sub>, BORREGO DE CABRAS *E3* V<sub>2</sub>=*H šêh kesâbîm*, *šêh izzîm* que significan literalmente 'res ovejuna' y 'res cabruna.' Las versiones españolas del hebreo emplean las siguientes denominaciones: RES DE CARNEROS *E4*, CARNERO DE OVEJAS *E7*, *E19*, CARNERO DE CORDEROS *At*, CORDERO DE CARNEROS *F*=*H šêh kesâbîm*; RES DE CABRAS *E4*, CARNERO DE CABRAS *At*, *E19*, CABRITO DE CABRAS *F*=*H šêh izzîm*; las de *E4* son las que más se acercan al original.

BUBA véase ABUBILLA.

BUEY *E4*, *E7*, *E3*, *E19*, *F* V<sub>1</sub>=*H šôr*. BUEY MONTESINO *E3* V<sub>9</sub>, BUEY SILVESTRE *F* V<sub>9</sub>=*H the'ô*, acercándose a otras versiones bíblicas, pues según Vigouroux, s.v. *oryx*: "le Grec Venète *ἀγριόβους*, et la version chaldaïque: *târbâlâ*", y voient un bœuf sauvage ou bubale"; véase también Gesenius.

BUEYTRE *E4*, *At*, *E7*, *E3* II<sub>2</sub>, VII<sub>2</sub>, *E19* VII<sub>2</sub>=*H pérés* 'quebrantahuesos'; *GE*, *E8*, *B* II<sub>5</sub>, VII<sub>5</sub>, *E7* VII<sub>5</sub>, *E19* II<sub>4</sub>=*Vu vultur*. Con excepción de BUYTRE *E8* II<sub>5</sub>, VII<sub>5</sub> y BUETRE *GE* VII<sub>5</sub>, *E19* II<sub>4</sub>, VII<sub>2</sub>, todos

los demás textos usan BUEYTRE; ésta es la forma más corriente y se encuentra desde *Astronomia*, I, 13, hasta Covarrubias, pero *buytre* y *buetre* alternan con ella durante la Edad Media; la que gana terreno desde el siglo XVII es *buitre* y ya el *Dicc. Aut.* da como anticuada *bueitre* y no registra *buetre*.

BUFANO *F*  $V_6 = H$  *yaḥmûr* 'caprea, species coloris subrufi' Gesenius; sobre el difícil significado de *yaḥmûr* véase Wiener, pp. 1 y ss.; *F* va contra las otras versiones del hebreo que dan *gamo* y se aproxima a *Vu bubalus*. Acerca de *búfano* véase MzPidal, *Sufijos*, p. 396.

BUFO *GE*, *E8*, *B*  $II_{11} = Vu$  *bubo*; BUHO *E3*  $II_{17}$ , *E7*, *An*  $II_{10}$ , *E19*  $II_{11}$ . *bufo* es forma poco frecuente y no la he encontrado más que en el *Libro de los Gatos* (ed. Northup), en *MPhil.*, V, Núm. 4, 30-31; *buho* es corriente desde el siglo XIII y se encuentra en *Espéculo*, p. 360, y en otros textos.

CABRA *GE*, *E8*, *B*  $V_3 = Vu$  *capra*; para CABRAS en otras denominaciones véase BORREGO DE CARNEROS. CABRA MONTÉS *F*  $V_{10} = H$  *zémér* 'cabra silvestre'; Nebrija 1492 registra *cabra montesina*.

CABRITO DE CABRAS véase BORREGO DE CARNEROS.

CABRON MONTESINO *E3*  $V_7$ , CABRON SILVESTRE *F*  $V_7 = H$  'aqgô; la palabra hebrea es de difícil identificación pero se le da el significado de 'caprea, capreolus, hircus silvestris' según Gesenius.

CALAMON *F*  $II_{14}$ ,  $VII_{14}$ , *E3*  $II_{13}$ ,  $VII_{14}$ ; *F* = *H* *thinšeméth* de difícil identificación: 'cisne, garza, buho,' *S*  $\pi\omicron\rho\phi\upsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\omega\nu$ ; *E3* = *H* *yanšuf* 'grulla.' Nebrija 1492 y Covarrubias identifican *calamon* con *porphyrio*; lo mismo hace Scio I, 317, nota 13, y añade que "se llama calamón o cálamo, que significa caña por ser largas y delgadas las piernas de esta ave, que anda por los ríos y por las lagunas"; Scio, en consecuencia, emplea *calamón* para traducir *Vu porphyrio*.

CAMELEON *E8*, *B*  $IV_5$ , CAMELLO (léase CAMELEO) *GE*  $IV_5 = Vu$  *chamæleon*. *GE* usa *gamaleon*, I, 570b<sub>45</sub>, 51.

CAMELLO todas las versiones están de acuerdo en  $I_1$ ,  $VI_1 = H$  *gámâl*, *Vu camelus*. *E8*  $I_1$  da la forma aragonesa GAMEILLO y *B*  $VI_1$  GAMELLO; ésta última forma es castellana y se encuentra en *Partida* II, 271 (var. de Esc. 6, n. 1) y en la *Estoria de los quatro doctores* (ed. F. Lauchert), pp. 16 y 144. Sobre el erróneo *camello* de *GE* véase CAMELEON.

CARACOL *E7*, *F*, *An*  $IV_6 = H$  *letâ'áh* 'una especie de lagarto.'

CARAUO *ES* II<sub>14</sub>; "Otras [aves] ay que caçan et son caçadas asi como los budalones, et los alforres, et los aguilocho et todas las aves de su natura, et lechuzas, et mochuelos, et carabos et cucluellos" (JManuel, *Cau. et Esc.*, p. 503). Sobre su identificación con *autillo* y su etimología del árabe *قاراب* *carab*, véase Eguilaz.

CARNERO *GE* V<sub>2</sub> = *Vu ovis*; para otras denominaciones véase BORREGO DE CARNEROS.

ÇEGUNNINO *E7* VII<sub>13</sub> = *Vu cygnus*, pero inexactamente ya que *çegunnino*, *çigonnino* (JRuiz, 978d var. de *G*; el MS *S* pone *çigonñños*; Climente Sanchez, *Exemplos*, ed. en *Rom.*, VII, § 13), *cigueñino* (Palet), equivalen a 'pollo de la cigüeña.' De *ciconinus* + *ciconia*.

ÇERÇETA *F* II<sub>9</sub>, CERCETA *F* VII<sub>10</sub> = *H šâḥaf*, acaso 'gaviota'; Nebrija 1492 identifica la *cerceta* con lat. *fulica*; Covarrubias también con lat. *fulica* y además con lat. *larus*, *porphyrio* y esp. *garçota*. Ayala, *Caça*, p. 51, incluye la *cerceta* en la clase de los ánades: "... De todas las aues yo non fallo de tan diuersas et tantas naturas como anades, ca y son contadas abocastas, anades reales, et anades gentas, capirotadas, ginetas, ... negretas, cercetas et otras muchas."

ÇERNICALO *E7* II<sub>13</sub>, VII<sub>18</sub>, CERNICALO *An* II<sub>12</sub>, ÇERNICOLO *F* II<sub>15</sub>, *cernícolo* *F* VII<sub>15</sub>; *F* = *H qâ'âth*, que es más bien el 'pelicano'; *E7* VII<sub>18</sub> = *Vu charadrios* u *onocrotalus*. Sobre *cernícolo*, *cernícolos* y *cernícoles* y para su etimología de *cerner*, véase MzPidal, *Sufijos*, pp. 393 y 398.

CIERUO o ÇIERUO todas las versiones de acuerdo en V<sub>4</sub> = *H ʿayyâl* o *Vu cervus*.

CIGNO *GE* II<sub>14</sub>, ÇINNO *GE* VII<sub>13</sub>, CISNE *ES* II<sub>14</sub>, VII<sub>13</sub>, ÇISNE *B* II<sub>14</sub>, VII<sub>13</sub> = *Vu cygnus*. La forma *cisne* es la frecuente en la Edad Media: *Gran Conq.*, pp. 68a, 102a, 252a, etc.; Ayala, *Caça*, p. 124; JRuiz, 1438a, etc.; *cigno* se encuentra en *Prim. Crón.*, p. 39b<sub>42</sub>.

CIGUENNA *GE* II<sub>13</sub>, VII<sub>14</sub>, *ES* VII<sub>14</sub>, *E4* II<sub>17</sub>, *E3* VII<sub>15</sub>, *An* II<sub>14</sub>, ÇIGUENNA o ÇIGUEÑA *ES* II<sub>13</sub>, *E7* II<sub>14</sub>, 19, VII<sub>14</sub>, *At* VII<sub>15</sub>, *E19* II<sub>16</sub>, *F* II<sub>17</sub>, VII<sub>18</sub>, *B* II<sub>13</sub>, VII<sub>14</sub>, CIGUENIA *At* II<sub>17</sub>, CIGUEYNA (con grafía aragonesa *yn* por *nn*) *ES* II<sub>13</sub>; *E4*, *At*, *F* y acaso *ES* = *H ḥāsīdāh* y *GE*, *ES*, *B*, *E7* VII<sub>14</sub> = *Vu ibis*.

CISNE véase CIGNO.

CLUQUILLO *E7* II<sub>12</sub>, CUCLILLO *An* II<sub>12</sub>. La forma CLUQUILLO está registrada por Correas, *Vocabulario de refranes* (ed. Acad. Esp., Madrid, 1924), p. 403, y es una metátesis inversa a la de *cuclillas* > *cloc*-,

*clueca*, mencionada por MzPidal, *Romania*, XXIX, 344, ya que *cuchillo* > *cucul* + *ellu* es la forma etimológica.

COCADRIZ *GE* IV<sub>3</sub>, COCATRYZ *E8* IV<sub>3</sub>, COCATRIZ *B* IV<sub>3</sub> = *Vu* *crocodilus*. En un inventario del año 1273, contenido en el MS Bibl. Nac. Madrid, 13022, folio 188, se dice: "otro vaso llano et todo dorado con esmalt en medio de sennal de cocadriz...." *Cocadriz* es la forma usada por la *General Estoria*, I, 222 y ss., en pasajes traducidos de Plinio; *cocatriz* se halla en JMena, *Nueva Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XIX, p. 129a. Nebrija 1545: "Cocadriz, serpiente propio del Nilo, *crocodilus*, i." Godefroy, *Dict. Anc. Langue Française*, registra varias formas de esta palabra s.v. *cocatrís*. De *cocadrilus*, con cambio de sufijo; *cocadrila* se encuentra en *Olla Patella, vocabulaire latin versifié* ed. A. Scheller, (Gand, 1879), verso 77 y página 27.

COMADREJA *E3*, *E7*, *At*, *An*, *F* IV<sub>1</sub> = *H* *hóléd*; *E19* IV<sub>7</sub> = *H* *hómét* 'lagarto o caracol.' Según la distribución geográfica que ha determinado MzPidal, *Orígenes del español*, I, 417-24, para las varias denominaciones de *mustela*, podríamos aventurar que las versiones registradoras de las voz *comadreja*, serían procedentes de Castilla o influenciadas por el castellano, pues *F* se escribió fuera de España. *E19* IV<sub>1</sub>, emplea DOUERIELLA, que no es más que una errónea transcripción de DONECIELLA, nombre dado a la *mustela* en la región occidental de León, Zamora, y Salamanca, y así podríamos situar en esa parte de España al autor de *E19*, aunque ya decimos antes que también usa *comadreja*, IV<sub>7</sub>, para traducir con poca exactitud *H* *hómét*. Las versiones *GE*, *E8*, *B* IV<sub>1</sub>, dan respectivamente MOSTELIELLA, MOSTELLIELLA, y MOSTELILLA = *Vu* *mustela*, y sus autores procederían de la región delimitada por el Oeste de Santander, el Sudeste de Asturias, el Nordeste de León, y el Norte de Palencia, pues aunque *comadreja* haya disminuido el área de *mustelella*, siempre serían los autores de estas versiones del reino de León; la coincidencia en el uso del diminutivo MOSTELILLA por estas versiones, aleja la posibilidad de una influencia de la palabra *mustela* empleada por la Vulgata; obsérvese que *E8*—que contiene ciertos aragonesismos<sup>1</sup>—debió ser escrita en Castilla, ya que acude a MOSTELLIELLA y no a *paniquesa*, que es la denominación propia de Aragón; esto confirma la opinión ya expuesta de que

<sup>1</sup> En nuestros pasajes ocurren únicamente las grafías aragonesas de *cigueyna* y *gameillo*.

únicamente el copista de *E8* fué aragonés.<sup>1</sup> De \**commatericula*, MzPidal, *Orígenes*, I, 424 o más bien diminutivo del romance *comadre*, MzPidal, *Gram.*, § 2.

CONEJO todas las versiones de acuerdo en *I*<sub>2</sub>, *VI*<sub>3</sub> = *H* *sáfân* o *Vu* *chærogryllus*; esta última voz no designa exactamente al conejo sino al *hirax syriacus*; sin embargo en la literatura rabínica es general la interpretación 'conejo,' según Gesenius, *Thes.*, p. 1467.

CORÇA *GE*, *E8*, *B* *V*<sub>5</sub> = *Vu* *caprea*; CORÇO *E4*, *E7*, *E3*, *At*, *E19*, *F* *V*<sub>5</sub> = *H* *şebi*.

CORDERO DE CARNEROS, CARNERO DE CORDEROS véase BORREGO DE CARNEROS.

CORUIA *E19* *II*<sub>6</sub> = *H* *ʿoréb* o *Vu* *corvus*; quizás *E19* quiso designar con esa palabra un nombre genérico que tradujese el "omne corvini generis" de la Biblia; no encuentro otro ejemplo de esa palabra leyéndola *corvia* y no me parece que la versión quisiera usar *coruja* 'lechuzza.'

CUCILLO véase CLUQUILLO.

CUERUO *E4*, *At*, *F* *II*<sub>6</sub>, *VII*<sub>7</sub> = *H* *ʿoréb*; *GE*, *E8*, *B* *II*<sub>6</sub>, *VII*<sub>7</sub> = *Vu* *corvus*; *E3* *II*<sub>6</sub>, *VII*<sub>7</sub>, *E19* *VII*<sub>4</sub> = *H* *ʿoréb* o *Vu* *corvus*. CUERUO MARINO *F* *VII*<sub>7</sub> = *H* *šalák* 'somorgujo.' CUERUO MERYNO *E19* *II*<sub>10</sub> pudiera ser un error de copista por CUERUO MARINO, aunque encuentro *cuero merino* en el *Cancionero de Baena*, p. 428, y en la edición facsímil de H. R. Lang, New York, 1926, folio 134 (antiguo). CUERUO DE LA NOCHE *E* 7 *VII*<sub>17</sub> = *Vu* *bubo*; no encuentro esta denominación registrada en los diccionarios.

DOUERIELLA, léase DONECIELLA *E19* *IV*<sub>1</sub> = *H* *hóléd* 'comadreja.' De *domnicella*, MzPidal, *Orígenes*, I, 422. Véase COMADREJA.

ENSAÑADERA *F* *II*<sub>18</sub> = *H* *ʿanáfáh* 'ave iracunda'; traduce, pues, literalmente; no hallo esta palabra para designar ningún animal; nótese que *F* *VII*<sub>19</sub> emplea *grajo* = *H* *ʿanáfáh*, prueba de que no encontró bien su primera traducción.

ERIZO *E7*, *An*, *F* *IV*<sub>4</sub>, *E3* *IV*<sub>8</sub>, ERYZO *E19* *IV*<sub>4</sub>; *E3* = *H* *thinšeméth* 'camaleón,' los demás = *H* *ʿanáfáh* 'musarafia.'

<sup>1</sup> Véanse Berger, *Rom.*, XXVIII, 385; P. F. Smith, "Esta es la translacion del Psalterio que fizo maestro Herman el Aleman ..." *The University of Chicago Abstracts of Theses*, Humanistic Series, II, 355, y Castro, *Biblia medieval romanceada*, p. xvii.

ESMEREJON *F* II<sub>3</sub>, VII<sub>3</sub>, *E7* VII<sub>3</sub>, *GE* II<sub>3</sub>, ESMERILLON *GE* VII<sub>3</sub>; *F* = *H* 'ozniyâh 'águila marina'; *GE*, *E7* = *Vu* *haliaetus*; *GE* da además el sinónimo *alcotan*; sobre *esmerilon* véase Castro, *RFE*, VIII, 350, quien hace bien en no considerar errata esta forma, puesto que *GE* usa *esmerillon*. Véase ALCOTAN.

ESTRUCIO *ES* VII<sub>8</sub>, ESTRACIO (léase ESTRUCIO) *B* II<sub>7</sub>, ESTRUCIO *B* VII<sub>8</sub>, ESTRUZ *GE* II<sub>7</sub>, VII<sub>8</sub>, ESTRUCON *ES* II<sub>7</sub> > = *Vu* *struthio*; *estrucio* se halla en *Astronomía*, I, 77, 82, 89, *Anemur*, en *RForsch*, VII, 345; la forma *estrucion*, parecida a ESTRUCON en la *n* final, se lee en el *Libro del Tesoro*, MS Bibl. Nac. Madrid, 685, folio 48r a; de *estruz* no encuentro más que un ejemplo en plural *estruces* en *Crón. Alf. XI* en *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, LXVI, 268b, y claro es que forma parte del compuesto *avestruz*. Véase AVESTRUZ.

FALCON *F* II<sub>11</sub>, VII<sub>12</sub>, *ES* II<sub>4</sub>, VII<sub>4</sub>, *E7* II<sub>4</sub>, *An* II<sub>4</sub>, *E19* II<sub>13</sub>; *F* = *H* *kôs* 'buho, lechuza.' Sobre las diversas clases de *falcon* véase Castro, *RFE*, VIII, 354.

FIEBROSA *At* II<sub>9</sub> = *H* *šâhaf* acaso 'gaviota.' No hallo la palabra en los diccionarios y quizá designe alguna ave que sea conocida por su alta fiebre; compárese el opuesto *ave fría*.

FORNAGERA *At* II<sub>18</sub> = *H* *ʾanâfâh* 'ave iracunda del género de las águilas' o 'golondrina'; habrá que leer FORNAGUERA, ya que *At* escribe *agila* por *aguila*; debe tratarse de una ave que cava y remueve la tierra con su pico, pues *hornaquear* significa 'cavar o mover la tierra para sacar carbón.' *At* VII<sub>19</sub> deja este nombre hebreo sin traducir.

GALAPAGO *ES*, *At* IV<sub>7</sub> = *H* *hômêt* 'lagarto.' "A esta otra figura ... dizen en latin testudo siue uultur cadens et en castellano lo llaman galapago, et en arabigo a tres nombres: azulafe ... , zuliaca ... et al-sanja" (*Astronomía*, I, 31). De *calapac*, árabe *قالبق*, quizá de alguna palabra celta (?), según Simonet, *Glosario de voces ibéricas y latinas usadas entre los mozárabes*, p. 73.

GALLO MONTES *At*, *F* II<sub>19</sub>, VII<sub>20</sub>, *E19* II<sub>17</sub> = *H* *dúkfath*. Los gallos monteses se mencionan por JManuel, *Cau. et Esc.*, p. 504.

GAMEILLO, GAMELLO véase CAMELLO.

GAMO *E4*, *E7*, *E3*, *At*, *E19* V<sub>6</sub> = *H* *yahmûr*; para esta palabra hebrea traducida por 'gamo'; véase Wiener, p. 2.

GANGA *At* II<sub>7</sub> = *H* *bath hayyaʿanâh* 'avestruz,' literalmente 'hija de los gritos'; *At* buscó una ave de voz chillona y encontró *ganga*, que



Covarrubias describe: "ganga es un cierto género de ave palustre dicha assi por el sonido de la voz"; véase *autillo* para el mismo método de traducción empleado por *F*. Creo esta explicación más clara que la de la homofonía entre *ganga* y *ya'anah* que propone D. S. Blondheim, *Les parlers judéo-romans* (Paris, 1925), p. cxi. Obsérvese que *At* deja en VII<sub>8</sub> el nombre hebreo sin traducir. Acaso es "voz imitativa del canto de esta ave" como dice el *Dicc. Acad.*

GARÇA E7 II<sub>17</sub>, GARÇA BOLADERA An II<sub>17</sub> = acaso *H dūkifath* 'garza' entre otras varias significaciones; GARÇA BOLADERA parece una invención poco feliz de *An*, tratándose de una ave; esta versión copió GARÇA de E7 y añadió un adjetivo. Sobre *garza* véase Sainéan, *ZRPh*, XXX, 566 y 569.

GAUJA F II<sub>12</sub> = *H šalāk* 'somorgujo'; en VII<sub>17</sub> = *F* la misma voz hebrea por *cueruo marino*. Sobre *gavia* 'gaviota' véase Körtzing, *LRWb*, 4192; Behrens, *ZRPh*, XXVI, 656; *REWb*, 2708.

GAUILAN E4, At, F, E3 II<sub>10</sub>, VII<sub>11</sub>, B II<sub>10</sub>, E7, An II<sub>11</sub>, E19 II<sub>14</sub>, GAUILLAN E8 II<sub>10</sub>; E4, At, F = *H nêš*; E3, E7, An = *H nêš* o *Vu accipiter*; E8, B = *Vu accipiter*.

GOLONDRINA E3 II<sub>9</sub>, VII<sub>10</sub>, E7, An II<sub>8</sub>. Cornu, *Rom.*, XIII, 302, no encuentra ejemplos de *golondrina* anteriores al siglo XIV y cita solamente a JRuiz, 201, 719, 720 (en ed. Ducamin, 211, 745, 747, etc.); *golondrina* se halla en *Gran Conq.*, p. 68a, y *golondrino* en *Cast. y Docs.*, p. 156a.

GRAJA E19 II<sub>9</sub>, An II<sub>7</sub>, GRAJERIA E7 II<sub>7</sub>, GRAJO F VII<sub>19</sub>; F = *H anáfâh* 'ave iracunda del género de las águilas o golondrina'; E7 y An = *H corêb* o *Vu corvus*; "toda grajeria e su metal" de E7 parece indicar un nombre genérico correspondiente a la frase de *Vu* "omne corvini generis" o a su similar hebrea.

GRIFO GE, B II<sub>2</sub>, VII<sub>2</sub>, E7 II<sub>3</sub>, VII<sub>2</sub>, An II<sub>3</sub>, GRIFFO E8 VII<sub>2</sub>, GRYFO E19 II<sub>2</sub> = *Vu gryps*.

GRILLOS E8, B III<sub>2</sub> = *Vu attacus*; dan como sinónimo *salton*.

GRULLA E7, An II<sub>15</sub>. De *grus*, *gruem* > *grua*, *gruya*, *grulla* según MzPidal, *Gram.*, § 75, quien insiste en su opinión antes expuesta en *Rom.*, XXIX, 354, contra *REWb*, 3882.

HABUBA, HABUBIELLA, HABUBILLA, HABUILLA véase ABUBILLA.

LAGARTEZNA GE, E8, B IV<sub>7</sub> = *Vu lacerta*; registra esta voz el *Dicc. Aut.*; otro ejemplo: "los materiales que tiñen los cabellos en prieto son

estos: ... las caxcaras de las avellanas quemadas, lagarteznas verdes cortadas las cabeças e las colas ..." (Bernaldo Gordonio, *Libro de Medicina* [Toledo, 1513], fol. 45r).

LAGARTIJA *F* IV<sub>5</sub>, LAGARTIXA *E19* IV<sub>6</sub>, LAGARTEJA *At* IV<sub>6</sub>; *F* = *H* *kôâh*; *E19* y *At* = *H* *letâ'âh*.

LAGARTO *E7*, *E3*, *An*, *E19* IV<sub>5</sub> = *H* *kôâh*; *ES*, *B* IV<sub>6</sub> = *Vu* *stellio*.

LAGOSTA *E7*, *E3*, *At* III<sub>1</sub> = *H* *'arbêh*; LAGOSTO *At* III<sub>3</sub> = *H* *hargôl*; LAGOSTOS *E4* III<sub>1</sub> = *H* *'arbêh*; LANGOSTA *E19*, *F* III<sub>1</sub> = *H* *'arbêh*, *At*, *E19* III<sub>4</sub> = *H* *hâgâb*; todos estos nombres designarían en hebreo distintas especies de 'langostas,' imposibles hoy de identificar exactamente; *ES*, *B* III<sub>4</sub> = *Vu* *locusta*. *Lagosta* se registra en *Prim. Crón.*, 52b<sub>32</sub>; *Partida* I, 466; *Alexandre* (Madrid), 1650c; hasta Nebrija 1492. *Lagosto* no lo encuentro en otros textos medievales. *Langosta* aparece desde antiguo junto a *lagosta*, en *Partida* V, 230; VII, 669; *Astronomía*, I, 76; JRuiz, 1111a, etc.

LAGOSTIN *E7*, *F* III<sub>2</sub>, LAGOSTINO *At*, *E19* III<sub>2</sub> = *H* *sol'âm*; *lagostin* lo registra Oudin.

LECHUZA *At*, *F* II<sub>13</sub>, *E4* VII<sub>13</sub> = *H* *yanšuf*; *GE*, *B* II<sub>8</sub>, VII<sub>9</sub>, *E8* VII<sub>9</sub>, *E7* VII<sub>9</sub> = *Vu* *noctua*; *E7*, *An* II<sub>6</sub>, *E3* II<sub>15</sub>, VII<sub>12</sub>; NECHUZA *E8* II<sub>8</sub> = *Vu* *noctua*; no encuentro *nechuza* en otros textos y únicamente Rosal da una forma parecida, aunque puede ser inventada: "lechuza corrupto de nochuza ... que el latino así mismo llama noctua y el montañés nuctiga."

LIEBRE en los pasajes I y VI; todas las versiones emplean esta palabra para traducir *H* *'arnêbêh* o *Vu* *lepus*.

LONBRIZ *GE* IV, mencionada junto a *topo* y como una adición al pasaje de la Vulgata.

MILANO *E4*, *At* II<sub>3</sub>, VII<sub>3</sub>, *E19* VII<sub>3</sub> = *H* *'ozniyâh* 'aguila marina'; *F* II<sub>4</sub>, VII<sub>6</sub> = *H* *dâ'âh* 'ave de rapiña, quizá el milano'; *E19* II<sub>3</sub>, *E7* VII<sub>6</sub>, *GE*, *E8*, *B* II<sub>4</sub>, VII<sub>6</sub> = *Vu* *milvus*; *E7*, *An* II<sub>5</sub> = *H* *'ozniyâh* o *Vu* *milvus*. MILANO RUUIO *F* VII<sub>4</sub> = *H* *râ'âh*; *F* pretende distinguir esta ave de *dâ'âh* (*râ'âh* se considera como un error por *dâ'âh*) y busca un adjetivo que aplicar a *milano*, combinación que no encuentro en textos ni en diccionarios; JManuel, *Cau. et Esc.*, 504, habla de *milanos prietos*.

MOCHUELO *F* II<sub>3</sub>, VII<sub>9</sub> = *H* *tahmâs* 'lechuza, cuco, golondrina'; *E19* II<sub>5</sub>, *E3* II<sub>19</sub>, VII<sub>6</sub>. Covarrubias dice: "llamaronle mochuelo por tener

la cabeza quadrada y como desmochada"; de ahí su etimología del esp. *mocho*; cf. Castro, *RFE*, I, 403, y III, 68-69.

MOÇIELAGO, MORCIELAGO, MORÇIEGALO véase MURCIEGO.

MOSTELIELLA, MOSTELILLA, MOSTELIELLA véase COMADREJA.

MUR *ES*, An IV<sub>2</sub> = *H* *hóléd* 'comadreja,' *GE*, *ES*, B IV<sub>2</sub> = *Vu mus*. La voz *mur* pasaba por anticuada en 1601 pues Rosal indica: "mur decían de ratón."

MURCIEGO *GE* II<sub>20</sub>, VII<sub>21</sub>, *ES* II<sub>20</sub>, At VII<sub>21</sub>, MURCIEGUO *ES* VII<sub>21</sub>, MOÇIELAGO (con elision de la *r*, similar a la de *porcilga* > *pocilga*) *E4* II<sub>20</sub>, MORCIELAGO o MORÇIELAGO *F* II<sub>20</sub>, *E4* VII<sub>20</sub>, *E7* VII<sub>21</sub>, *ES* VII<sub>18</sub>, MURÇIELAGO *ES* II<sub>20</sub>, MORÇIEGALO At II<sub>20</sub>, *F* VII<sub>21</sub>, MURÇIEGALO *E7* II<sub>20</sub>, An II<sub>18</sub>, B II<sub>20</sub>, VII<sub>21</sub>; todos = *H* *ātallēs* o *Vu vespertilio*. Para las varias formas de esta palabra (excepto *moçielago*) y para su etimología véase MzPidal, *Sufijos*, p. 394, y V. García de Diego, *Contribución al Diccionario hispánico etimológico*, § 425.

NECHUZA véase LECHUZA.

QUEJA *ES*, B V<sub>2</sub> = *Vu ovis*. Para la designación CARNERO DE OUEJAS véase BORREGO DE CARNEROS.

PELICANO *F* II<sub>16</sub>, VII<sub>16</sub> = *H* *râhâm*, *râhâmâ* 'especie de buitres,' PELICANO *ES* II<sub>12</sub>, VII<sub>13</sub>. *H* *qâ'âth* es el que *S* traduce por *πελεκάν*.

PICAÇA *E7*, An II<sub>18</sub>, *E19* II<sub>12</sub>. De \**piccacea*, según Tallgren, *Gaya de Segovia*, p. 81, o de un cruce *pica* × *gaza*, según V. García de Diego, *Bol. Acad. Esp.*, VI, 747.

PUERCO en los pasajes I y VI; todas las versiones usan esta palabra para traducir *H* *hâzîr* o *Vu sus*.

PULGON *GE* III<sub>1</sub> = *Vu bruchus*, coincidiendo con Nebrija 1492, que también identifica estos dos nombres. Se mencionan "lagostas et pulgones" en *Partidas* I, 466 y VII, 669.

QUEBRANTAHUESOS *ES* II<sub>8</sub>, VII<sub>9</sub>; esa traducción correspondería a *H* *pérés*, mas, por el lugar en que la coloca la versión española, no puede referirse a esta palabra hebrea; "ay otras aues que su mantenimiento solo es de carniças et non toman aues biuas, asi como son buetres, auantos, quebrantahuesos ..." (Ayala, *Caça*, 10); Rosal dice: "imita al latino que asi mesmo la llama *ossi fraga*"; cf. *franehuesos*, *Espéculo*, 360, compuesto a base del verbo *frañer*.

RANA *ES* IV<sub>4</sub> = *H* *anâqâh* 'reptil o musaraña,' *E7* IV<sub>3</sub> acaso = *H* *şab* 'cocodrilo terrestre.'

RATA *E4 IV<sub>4</sub>* = *H hóléd*, palabra que todas las demás versiones del hebreo traducen por *comadreja* o su sinónimo *doneciella*.

RATON *E4, E7, At, F VII<sub>2</sub>* = *H 'akbar*.

RES DE CABRAS véase BORREGO DE CARNEROS.

ROBADERA *At II<sub>8</sub>* = *H tahmás* 'ave de rapiña' y de ahí quizá *robadera*, pues no encuentro esta palabra para designar ningún animal.

SALAMANQUESA *E4, E3 IV<sub>6</sub>* = *H letá'áh* 'especie de lagarto' Nebrija 1492 identifica la *salamanquesa* con la *salamandra*.

SALTON *ES, B III<sub>2</sub>* = *Vu attacus*; *Dicc. Acad.* da a *saltón* el significado de 'saltamontes.'

SAPO *E4, E3, At, E19, F IV<sub>3</sub>* = *H šab* 'cocodrilo terrestre'; la traducción no es, por tanto, muy exacta y creo que las versiones españolas se dejaron llevar por la homofonía de las dos palabras; otros casos de este género señala Blondheim, *Les parlers judéo-romans*, pp. cx y ss.

SISON *E7 VII<sub>4</sub>* = *Vu ixion*, véase Scio, I, 517, nota 1. "Et vienen [los falcones neblis] con el paso de las aues, así como con sisones, et palomas et otras aues de paso" (Ayala, *Caça*, 17, otros ejemplos en pp. 18, 51, 153).

SOMURGUION *GE II<sub>12</sub>, VII<sub>5</sub>* = *Vu mergulus*. Registran esta voz los diccionarios desde Nebrija 1492 hasta el de la Academia. Para la etimología véase C. Michaëlis en *Romania*, II, 90, y *REWb*, 8381.

STRUÇON véase ESTRUCCIO.

TOPO *E7, F IV<sub>8</sub>* y acaso *An, E19 IV<sub>8</sub>* = *H thinšeméth* 'camaleón'; *GE, ES, B IV<sub>8</sub>* = *Vu talpa*.

VNICORNIO *F V<sub>8</sub>* = *H dšón* 'variedad de antlope, cabra silvestre o gacela'; *unicornio* sería para *F* sinónimo de 'rinoceronte,' ya que no puede pensarse en que emplease esta palabra para designar el animal fabuloso.

VRILLO *E3 II<sub>16</sub>*; por el lugar en que se halla mencionado este animal, no corresponde con *dákifath* que, entre las varias significaciones que se le han asignado, tiene la de 'urogallo'; *urillo* difícilmente podría ser una reducción de *urogallo* por perder su sílaba acentuada y me inclino a pensar en algún error de transcripción; véase VALLO.

VACA *GE, ES, B V<sub>1</sub>* = *Vu bos*; *At V<sub>1</sub>* = *H šör*.

VALLO *E3 VII<sub>17</sub>*; por el lugar que ocupa en la lista podría ser una traducción de *dákifath* 'urogallo'; véase VRILLO. No encuentro esta palabra más que en un inventario aragonés de 1397, publicado en el

*Bol. Acad. Esp.*, IV, 217, pero por las palabras inmediatas de dicho inventario esta voz designaría algún instrumento.

Tratemos de llegar ahora a algunas conclusiones acerca de la relación en que se hallan las versiones con sus originales. Mientras las traducciones de la Vulgata muestran entre ellas y su original una dependencia absoluta, lo que las hace coincidir en el vocabulario empleado, las versiones del hebreo tropezaban con la inseguridad de la interpretación que puede darse a las voces hebreas de estos pasajes, y de ahí la escasa coincidencia de unas con otras, ya que rara vez una misma palabra española sirve para traducir la misma voz hebrea, por lo que tienen que recurrir a una gran variedad de vocabulario. Téngase en cuenta esta observación general, que vamos a omitir al hablar de las versiones hebreas; nos fijaremos en otros detalles.

Sabíamos ya que *E4* deriva del hebreo, pues así lo han demostrado Castro y Revilla, rectificando a Berger;<sup>1</sup> en este estudio mío puede comprobarse fácilmente eso mismo, por ser la versión que deja más nombres de animales en hebreo. Por declaración y raza del autor sabemos también que *At* es traducción del hebreo y lo mismo ocurre con *F*; ambas versiones dejan palabras en hebreo, aunque *F* realiza un esfuerzo para buscar en español vocablos que puedan reflejar la significación de los hebreos y solamente conserva dos en esta lengua, mientras *E4* contiene veintitrés y *At* veinte.

Es fácil también comprobar que *GE*, *E8*, y *B* no tuvieron presente más que la Vulgata, por seguir en todo a ésta y por las palabras latinas que dejan sin traducir; nada hay en ellas que pueda hacer pensar en la influencia, ni siquiera indirecta, del hebreo.

De *E3* nos dice Berger que es una revisión según el hebreo, hecha sobre *E4*—que el crítico francés tiene por traducción de la Vulgata; Castro<sup>2</sup> rectifica a Berger y considera a *E3* como versión directa del hebreo. En nuestros pasajes, *E3* no conserva ninguna palabra hebrea, pero tampoco las tiene latinas; hay unas cuantas voces: *aguila*, *cueruo*, *abestrúz*, *gauilan*, *calamon*, y *murcielago* en II y VII, y *comadreja* y *mur* en IV, que tanto podrían derivar de *H* como de *Vu*;<sup>3</sup> todo esto, por

<sup>1</sup> Castro, *op. cit.*, p. xix, y Revilla en *La Ciudad de Dios*, CXLIV (1926), 280-89.

<sup>2</sup> Castro, *op. cit.*, p. xx.

<sup>3</sup> No tengo en cuenta para estas conclusiones los pasajes I y VI, pues por su uniformidad y acuerdo con los originales hebreo o latino nada nos prueban con respecto a ninguna de las versiones. El pasaje III tampoco es útil para deducir nada con relación a *E3*, ya que esta versión no traduce más que una palabra, *lagosta*, eliminando así la dificultad de las otras voces hebreas.

consiguiente, nada nos prueba en favor de uno u otro original. En cambio *bueytre* y *milano* II y VII coinciden en el orden con *H pérés* y *ʕozniyâh* y no con *vultur* y *mīlvum* de *Vu*; en V, las designaciones *borrego de carneros* y *borrego de cabras* no pueden proceder más que de *H*. Podría suponerse que unas veces había acudido a *H* y otras a *Vu*, pero no encontramos apoyo para esto, pues las demás palabras difícilmente pudieron ser sugeridas por el latín. Según esto *E3* es versión hecha sobre el hebreo.

*E7* fué clasificado por Berger<sup>1</sup> entre las versiones de la *Vulgata*. Veamos si tiene plenamente razón. En el pasaje II *aguilla*, *milano*, *grajería*, *gauilan*, y *murçiegalo* tanto podrían derivar de *H* como de *Vu*; *bueytre* por su colocación corresponde a *H* y no a *Vu*; en cambio *grifo* no puede proceder más que de *Vu*; las demás voces difícilmente se derivan de *Vu* por no coincidir ni en su colocación ni en su significado con las latinas. Creo, pues, que en este pasaje II, solamente procede de *Vu* la adición de *grifo* y que lo restante es traducción de *H*. No pasa lo mismo en el pasaje VII; en él se ve claramente que comenzó por copiar los tres primeros nombres de II: *aguila*, *bueytre*, *grifo* y no contento el traductor con aquella lista, acudió al texto de *Vu* o a una versión del latín, pues desde el número 4 hasta el último nombre del pasaje coincide exactamente con *Vu* VII y lo prueba además la repetición de *bueytre* en el lugar que corresponde en *Vu*; omite *struthio*, *mergulus* y *onocrotalus* o *charadrios*, pues dudo a cual de estas dos últimas responderá *çernicalo*; nótese que deja tal como las encuentra en el texto latino las palabras *erodio* y *parferion*. En el pasaje III vuelve *E7* a traducir del hebreo, como lo prueba la presencia de *araclo* y *algab*. En el IV *comadreja* y *raton* podrían derivar indiferentemente de *H* o *Vu* pero los nombres restantes no pueden ser traslado de los latinos. La designación *carnero de ovejas* y las voces hebreas *aco*, *dison*, *theo*, y *samer* en el pasaje V, nos evidencian su original. *E7* es, en consecuencia, una versión del hebreo, mezclada con otra de la *Vulgata* y ésta interviene en un nombre del pasaje II y en la mayor parte del VII. Berger tenía razón parcialmente, pues *E7* es lo que él llamaría una versión del hebreo revisada según la *Vulgata*.

*E19* era desconocido para Berger. Trátase de una versión descuidada, que en los cortos pasajes analizados en este artículo tenía el pro-

<sup>1</sup> Berger, *Rom.*, XXVIII, 401.

cedimiento de no abordar las dificultades, omitiendo simplemente las palabras de ardua traducción y a veces los pasajes casi íntegros. En el II la presencia de *grifo* y la colocación de *milano* y *buetre* están de acuerdo con *Vu*; *aguila*, *coruia* y *morçielago* coinciden con *H* o con *Vu* y alguna como *gallo montes*, no puede responder más que a *H dūki-fath*; este pasaje es una mezcla de versiones que hasta el número 4 tuvo presente a *Vu* y que después sigue a *H*. El pasaje VII está reducido a los nombres *aguila*, *bueytre*, *milano*, y *cueruo*; los tres primeros proceden de *H* y el cuarto de *H* o de *Vu*. El pasaje III, por la repetición de *lagosta* o de su derivado *lagostino*, es una versión de *H* (compárese especialmente con *At*). Para el pasaje IV véase lo dicho acerca de *E7* y aplíquese a *E19*. En el V, *carnero de ouejas*, *carnero de cabras*, y *zamer* nos indican una versión de *H*. Por tanto *E19* es una traducción del hebreo con la mezcla de otra versión de *Vu* para el comienzo del pasaje II.

*An* contiene tan sólo los pasajes II y IV. Arragel no hizo más que tomar *E7*, o la versión representada por este manuscrito, y copiarla en los dos pasajes con las siguientes modificaciones: en II omitió *bueytre* y *ciguenna* (19) ya que no era más que una repetición de *E7* (14); a *garça* le añade el adjetivo *boladera* y, para completar el número de animales que debía haber en la lista, repite *gauilan* y *azor*. En el pasaje IV cambia *raton* en *mur*, suprime *rana* y altera el orden de las restantes voces, excepto el de *comadreja*. Como en esos dos pasajes *E7* sigue al hebreo, con la excepción de *grifo* que procede de *Vu*, es indudable que Arragel se equivocó al tomar *E7* como una versión de la Vulgata.

Tenemos ya establecida la relación entre estas dos versiones; fácil es notar también el parentesco—ya observado por Berger y Castro—entre *E8* y *B*, ya que en nuestros pasajes éste no hace más que copiar a aquél con pequeñas variantes ortográficas o con errores de transcripción. Es evidente que *B* recurre a *E8* o, mejor, a un manuscrito castellano de la misma versión.

*GE* es independiente de *E8* pues aunque las dos versiones coinciden en buen número de palabras, es debido a ser las dos derivadas de la Vulgata; en cambio hay bastantes diferencias, que pueden observarse con el simple repaso de los cuadros que doy al principio, y que nos afirman esa independencia.



Entre las versiones del hebreo, *E4*, *At*, *F*, *E3*, *E7*, y *E19*, podríamos encontrar esporádicas coincidencias en el uso y colocación de varias palabras, pero las diferencias son mayores que en las traducciones del texto latino y la independencia mucho más clara, aunque también es posible que en ciertos casos los traductores, además de tener presente el texto hebreo, hayan acudido, ante la dificultad del mismo, a las otras versiones que circulasen en la Edad Media.

Tenemos en español cuatro Biblias traducidas del hebreo: *E4*, *At*, *E3*, y *F*; dos versiones más del hebreo con contaminación del texto de la Vulgata: *E7-An* y *E19* y dos versiones del texto de San Jerónimo: *GE* y *E8-B*. Estos resultados discrepan bastante de los de Berger.

A. G. SOLALINDE

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

## NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

### WODROW'S LIST OF DEFOE'S PAMPHLETS ON THE UNION

In a recent examination of a set of pamphlets on the Union between England and Scotland at the National Library of Scotland in Edinburgh (formerly the Advocates' Library) I came across a few numbers ascribed to Defoe by Robert Wodrow which have been either overlooked or rejected by previous students. The collection in which these pamphlets are included was compiled in 1708 for the Advocates' Library by Robert Wodrow, a well-known Scotch clergyman of the period. Wodrow received his M.A. at Glasgow University, where after graduation he served as librarian for four years. He was a diligent collector of pamphlets, having probably as many volumes<sup>1</sup> in his private library as any of his Scotch contemporaries. Whether he offered any of his pamphlets to the Advocates' Library it is now difficult to determine. It is significant to note that his list of Defoe's Union pamphlets<sup>2</sup> includes several which have been accepted as genuine by Wilson, Lee, Trent, and Dottin. The following numbers, which he likewise ascribed to Defoe, do not appear in their bibliographies, although No. 1 is listed as Defoe's in the *Catalogue of the British Museum* and No. 2 is catalogued as Defoe's by the Library of Congress:

1. *The Advantages of Scotland by an Incorporate Union with England compar'd with those of a coalition with the Dutch or a League with France. In answer to a pamphlet call'd The Advantages of the Act of Security and to which is added a post-script in answer to a letter concerning the consequences of an incorporating union.* Printed in the year 1706.

2. *The State of the Excise after the Union compar'd with what it is now.* [N.D.] [Probable date, 1706.]

3. *The State of the Excise Vindicated from the remarks of the Author of the Short View (etc.). Wherein some other escapes of that Author are likewise taken notice of.* [N.D.] [Probable date 1706.]

4. *A Letter from Mr. Reason to the High and Mighty Prince the Mob.* Nov. 7, [1706].

5. *A Letter to a member of Parliament anent the 30, 9885 Lib.: 10 Shil. Sterl. Equivalent with considerations of reducing the coin to the value and standard of England.* Dec. 20, [1706].

Wodrow was certainly in position to obtain accurate information concerning Defoe's Union pamphlets. That he had read and correctly identified some of Defoe's pamphlets<sup>3</sup> before and after the Union is quite clear. It is not at

<sup>1</sup> Wodrow, *Correspondence*, II, 545, 662.

<sup>2</sup> See *Catalogue of the National Library of Scotland*.

<sup>3</sup> *Correspondence*, I, 30-31; II, 209, 543, 758.

all improbable that while he was compiling the Union pamphlets for the Advocates' Library he may have consulted a few distinguished anti-Union pamphleteers who showed in their writings<sup>1</sup> that they kept track of whatever Defoe wrote on Scotch affairs. It is also possible that Defoe, who was in Edinburgh during the greater part of 1708, may have indirectly assisted Wodrow. And when it is remembered that later scholars apparently ignorant of Wodrow's list of Defoe's Union pamphlets have verified many of his findings and that the five pro-Union pamphlets mentioned above contain many of Defoe's stylistic peculiarities, it seems fair to conclude that they should be added to the accredited list of Defoe's writings.

HOWARD UNIVERSITY

CHARLES EATON BURCH

#### "MR. POPE ON HIS GROTTO"

On "Nov. 19, 1740. O.S." Lady Hertford wrote to her friend Lady Pomfret a gossip letter, one passage of which was deleted by the early nineteenth-century editor of their correspondence.<sup>2</sup> It reads as follows:

Whenever I get any manuscript of M<sup>r</sup> Pope's I think my self under an obligation to send it you, whether I have Wit enough to discern it's Beauty's or not; if I were only to transcribe what strikes me as such, instead of the whole Copy that follows, perhaps you wou'd only have had the fifth & sixth Lines! at least I am sure the Compliment in which my Lord Bolingbroke is included would never have reach'd you for I do not apprehend that his Poverty proceeds from his Affection for his Country, but from his having prostituted the finest Parts to the worst Uses; but I ought in Modesty to believe myself mistaken, since the great Censor of the Mortality, and Manners of our Nation, dignifies him with the Titles of—  
His Guide, Philosopher, & Friend.

I am ashamed that my remarks have detain'd you so long from what is so much more worth y<sup>e</sup> reading

#### ON THE GROTTO AT TWICK'NAM

You who shall stop where Thame's translucent Wave  
Shines a broad Mirror, th<sup>o</sup> the shadowy Cave,  
Where lingring Drops from minral Roofs distil,  
And pointed Chrystals break the sparkling Rill;  
Unpolish'd Gems no ray on Pride bestow,  
And latent Metals innocently Glow:  
Approach great Nature, studiously behold  
And Eye the Mine, without a Wish for Gold.  
Artless and awefull as th' Agerian Grot;

<sup>1</sup> See Campbell, *Reply to the Authors of the Advantages of Scotland by an Incorporate Union, and of the Fifth Essay at Removing National Prejudices, etc.* (1707); MacKenzie, *The Author of Lawful Prejudices against the Union Defended against the Remark of D.F.* (1707); Black, *A Letter Concerning the Remarks upon the Consideration of Trade by the Author of the 4th Essay at Removing National Prejudices* (1706).

<sup>2</sup> Correspondence between Frances, Countess of Hartford, (afterwards Duchess of Somerset,) and Henrietta Louisa, Countess of Pomfret, between the Years 1738 and 1741 (London, 1806), II, 135-38.

Here nobly pensive, S<sup>t</sup> John sate & thought,  
 Here stole the Honest Tear from Marchmonts Eye,  
 Here Wyndham! thy last Sighs for Liberty.  
 Let Such, such only, tread this Poets Floor  
 Who dare to Love their Country, & be Poor.<sup>1</sup>

Living at Richkings, the *bergerie extravagante* recently purchased by Lord Hertford from Lord Bathurst, Lady Hertford was doubtless known to Pope's circle. Socially of the court as a former maid-of-honor, devoted to Queen Caroline, Lady Hertford was politically a loyal Whig. Hence her reprobation of Bolingbroke and his activities. That she was in the habit of receiving from some source manuscript copies of Pope's verses, her letter suggests; but nowhere in her correspondence do I find evidence of any personal acquaintance with the poet himself.

The verses on his grotto Pope had inclosed in a letter to Bolingbroke dated September 3, 1740.<sup>2</sup> The poem was first published in the *Gentleman's Magazine* in January, 1741, and again in a revised form in the December number for that year. Accompanied by a Latin translation, and with slight changes, it was published once more in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for October, 1743. In this form the poem was reprinted in *A Plan of Mr. Pope's Garden*, etc., in 1745.

Lady Hertford's copy of the verses, which antedates the published versions, is identical in wording with that published in January, 1741, except at two points:

Line 4: *pointed*, instead of *painted* as in the January version; in this reading Lady Hertford's version conforms to the revision of the December version.

Line 13: *this poets floor*, instead of *the poets floor*.

It seems, therefore, that Lady Hertford's copy of the verses is substantially the same version as that sent in Pope's letter to Bolingbroke two months before, and printed in the *Gentleman's Magazine* two months later.

Another unnoted manuscript version of this poem is preserved in the library of Wellesley College. It reads as follows:

#### MR POPE ON HIS GROTTTO

O Thou who stop'st where Thames translucent wave  
 Shines a broad Mirroure through y<sup>e</sup> gloomy Cave,  
 Where lingring Drops through min'ral Roofs distil,  
 And pointed Chrystals break y<sup>e</sup> sparkling Rill,  
 Unpolish'd Gems no Ray on Pride bestow,  
 And latent metals innocently glow,  
 Approach, great Nature studiously behold  
 And eye y<sup>e</sup> mine without a Wish for Gold.  
 But enter awful the inspiring Grot  
 Where nobly pensive S<sup>t</sup> John sat & thought.

<sup>1</sup> From the manuscript volume, in Lady Hertford's hand, containing copies of her letters to Lady Pomfret, Alnwick MS, No. 112, pp. 77-78.

<sup>2</sup> *The Works of Alexander Pope* (ed. Elwin and Courthope; London, 1882), IV, 494 n.

Here British groans from dying Wyndham stole,  
 And y<sup>e</sup> bright Flame was shot through Marchmont's soul.  
 Such only such shall tread y<sup>e</sup> sacred Floor,  
 Who dare to serve their Country & be poor.

This seems to represent a trial revision of the poem made some time between the version of January, 1741, and that of October, 1743. Whether it is earlier or later than that of December, 1741, I am uncertain. Problems in relationship are suggested by the following table:

January, 1741	December, 1741	Wellesley MS	October, 1743
Line 1: You	you	O thou	Thou
Line 2: shadowy	watry	gloomy	shadowy
	(Couplet following line 8; in no other version)		
Line 9: Artless and awful as the Egerian grott,	Approach but awful! Lo! the Egerian grott,	But enter awful the inspiring Grot	Approach: But awful! Lo! th' Ægerian Grott
Lines 10-12: St. John . . . . Marchmont . . . . Wyndham . . . .	St. John . . . . Wyndham . . . . Marchmont . . . .	Ditto	Ditto
Lines 11-12: . . . . eye . . . . Liberty	. . . . stole . . . . soul	Ditto	Ditto
Line 12 [Wyndham's]: last sighs	Line 13: patriot passion*	Line 11: British groans	British sighs
Line 11 [Marchmont's]: honest tear	Line 14: bright flame	Line 12: ditto	ditto
Lines 10-11: Here . . . . Here . . . . Here . . . .	Lines 12-14 Where . . . . To . . . . And . . . .	Where . . . . Here . . . . And . . . .	Where . . . . Where . . . . And . . . .
Line 13: the Poet's	Line 15: the sacred	Line 13: the sacred	Line 13: this sacred
Line 14: love	Line 16: love	Line 14: serve	Line 14: love

\* Elwin-Courthope state that "in the original MS" this line reads: *To Wyndham's breast the patriot passion stole* (IV, 494 n.). The supposition is that the December version follows a MS earlier or more authentic than that from which the January version was printed.

It is my impression, derived chiefly from lines 1 and 11, that this version represents a revision after that of December, 1741—perhaps some time after. The Wellesley version is written in a rather fine hand on a small piece of

paper, possibly cut down from a sheet of note paper. It was presented by Professor George Herbert Palmer, who secured it from Dobell with the understanding that it was in the poet's autograph. On the back of the sheet is written in another hand, "hand writing of Pope." I am myself, however, not certain of the accuracy of the identification.

Pope's interest in his grotto in the year 1741 is still further attested by an interesting unpublished letter from the poet to Judge Fortescue, also in the Wellesley College Library. It reads as follows:

TWITNAM. Aug. 12.

1741.

DR SIR

You were returned from the Circuit, & gone to Devonshire, without my knowing the least of your motions; wch you will be so Candid a Judge (I hope) as to ascribe to my Ignorance in Law- and Justice-affairs: for I had certainly, either at the Vineyard or in London, just snatchd a sight of you. Had you sent me a line, it sh<sup>d</sup> have carry'd me to any place within my reach, to have told y<sup>e</sup> old Story, wch is still a true one; that I heartily wish you & yours all health & prosperity. I hope to hear you are in perfect Ease & tranquillity, improving your Paternal Seat, & planning agreeable Groves, under whose Shadow *in otia tuta recedas*, whenever you are weary of y<sup>e</sup> *Dignitas sine Otio*. tho both are best, *Otium cum dignitate*, as you just now (for a month or 2) enjoy them: and I have nothing to wish added to y<sup>m</sup> but Health, and a long Continuance of it. M<sup>rs</sup> Blount joins with me in this, & in her Services, wch she chargd me to send you. She was concern'd not to have any opportunities of seeing, or being seen with, you: Her health is not better, nor her Situation better, than usual: but she can be easier by a good Temper than most people und<sup>r</sup> y<sup>m</sup> as for my own health, it is not worse, but better than twenty years ago, when we first knew one another, & therefore sure I have reason to be content with it, as well as w<sup>th</sup> my Fortune, w<sup>ch</sup> hath always been such as I never wanted any thing I had a mind to, and yet never was obligd to any man more than I had a mind to—adieu, & may you & I descend to y<sup>e</sup> Grave content with our several Lots, ["&" deleted] thanking God as long as we live, & loving our neighbor as much as he'l let us. I am faithfully & affect.<sup>y</sup>  
DR Sir Yours.

A. POPE.

I have a small piece of Trouble to give you; that, as a Devonian, you may contribute something to my Grotto, as well as Cornwall & Wales. It is to send me (as soon as y<sup>e</sup> can) a Hogshhead of scallop shells.

[Address]

To the HON. M<sup>r</sup> JUSTICE

Fortescue, in Bell Yard

near Lincolns Inne

London.

[Postmark]



I am indebted to Professor George Sherburn for the information that forty-two manuscript letters from Pope to Fortescue were sold at Christie's in 1896; and that the present letter was sold by Christie to Maggs, in whose

catalogues it was listed in November, 1896, and October, 1897. At a date unascertained this was purchased by Professor Palmer, and later presented to the Wellesley library.

WELLESLEY COLLEGE

HELEN SARD HUGHES

#### CHRONOLOGIE STENDHALIENNE

Ce n'est plus un secret pour personne que l'édition Paupe et Chéramy de la *Correspondance de Stendhal*<sup>1</sup> fourmille, non seulement d'erreurs de lecture, mais encore d'erreurs de date. Parmi ces dernières, l'une des plus inexcusables porte sur la lettre No. 455, au Baron de Mareste,<sup>2</sup> que les éditeurs datent de "Paris, le ... août 1827."

Or cette lettre traite longuement, entre autres sujets, de négociations engagées par Stendhal avec Ambroise Tardieu et Delaunay en vue d'une nouvelle édition de *Rome, Naples et Florence*. Comme ces pourparlers, qui d'ailleurs n'aboutirent pas, eurent lieu au mois d'août 1824, il est fort probable que la lettre en question remonte à cette époque.<sup>3</sup>

D'autres indices confirment irréfutablement cette conjecture. Stendhal, avant d'aller voir Ambroise Tardieu, est passé chez un autre éditeur, Rapilly, "garçon très honnête, quoique libraire aux Variétés," qui, à ses ouvertures, a répondu: "J'ai tous mes fonds dans mon *Marot*, je ne puis rien faire avant le printemps."<sup>4</sup> Or c'est en 1824 que Rapilly entreprit la publication des *Œuvres complètes de Clément Marot. Nouvelle édition, ornée d'un portrait et augmentée d'un essai sur la vie et les ouvrages de Cl. Marot, de notes historiques et critiques et d'un glossaire ... A Paris, chez Rapilly, chez Dondey-Dupré fils, dont les volumes successifs furent annoncés dans le Journal de la Librairie le 1<sup>er</sup> mai, le 21 août, et le 25 décembre 1824.*

Enfin, M. Daniel Muller, qui a pu examiner la lettre originale, a découvert qu'elle ne porte d'autre date que "Vendredi, à une heure," et que l'indication "Paris, le ... août 1827," reproduite par les éditeurs de la *Correspondance* a été rajoutée après coup au crayon.<sup>5</sup>

Nous pourrions déjà conclure de ces trois observations que la lettre date d'un vendredi du mois d'août 1824; mais un autre détail va nous permettre d'en préciser le quantième avec une rigueur absolue. En sortant de chez Rapilly, et avant d'aller chez Tardieu, Stendhal s'est arrêté au *Constitutionnel* pour lire "la première brochure de M. de Chateaubriand; la seconde paraît lundi et sera plus étoffée."<sup>6</sup> Il n'est pas difficile d'identifier cette brochure. Le

<sup>1</sup> *Correspondance de Stendhal (1800-1842)*, publiée par Ad. Paupe et P.-A. Chéramy, Paris, 1908. 3 vols.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 469-70.

<sup>3</sup> M. Daniel Muller a déjà émis cette hypothèse, sans pouvoir la démontrer. Cf. *Rome, Naples et Florence*, éd. D. Muller (Paris: Champion, 1919), I, lvi, n. 2.

<sup>4</sup> *Correspondance de Stendhal*, II, 470.

<sup>5</sup> *Rome, Naples et Florence*, éd. D. Muller, I, lvi, n. 2.

<sup>6</sup> *Correspondance de Stendhal*, II, 470.



lundi 16 août 1824, le *Moniteur* avait publié les *Ordonnances du Roi* du 15 août sur le rétablissement de la censure; et Chateaubriand, en quelques heures, avait improvisé une réplique indignée: *De la Censure que l'on vient d'établir en vertu de l'article 4 de la loi du 17 mars 1822. Par M. le Vicomte de Chateaubriand, pair de France*, que la censure, comme de juste, interdit aux journaux d'annoncer, et dont la poste refusa d'expédier les exemplaires destinés aux départements. Mais en dépit de ces précautions, la brochure séditieuse fut enlevée plus rapidement encore qu'elle n'avait été écrite, et la première édition en était déjà épuisée le vendredi 20 août, au moment où Chateaubriand rédigeait l'*Avertissement* de la seconde, qui devait paraître au début de la semaine suivante.<sup>1</sup>

Il faut donc évidemment rectifier ainsi l'en-tête de la lettre No. 455, au Baron de Mareste: "[Paris] Vendredi [20 août 1824], à une heure"; ce qui nous permet de rendre à ce curieux document sa place exacte dans l'histoire des négociations entreprises en août 1824 par Stendhal en vue d'une nouvelle édition de *Rome, Naples et Florence*.

Cette rectification entraîne en outre une conséquence inattendue. La lettre à Mareste contient une allusion au prochain voyage de Mesdames Pauline Périer-Lagrange et Bazire-Longueville en Italie; Stendhal compte sur l'obligeance de son ami pour faciliter à ces dames les formalités du passeport: "Je leur ai promis que vous ne les mangeriez pas, et même les traiteriez avec bonté."<sup>2</sup>

Mais nous trouvons aussi dans la *Correspondance*, sous le No. 456, et à la date du 10 octobre 1827, l'*Avis aux têtes légères qui vont en Italie*:<sup>3</sup> c'est une longue liste désordonnée de renseignements et de conseils, adressée par Stendhal à ses sœurs Pauline Périer-Lagrange et Zénaïde Mallein, en vue de leur prochain départ pour l'Italie: itinéraires à suivre, auberges où descendre, précautions à prendre avec les *vetturini*, ce prudent frère n'oublie rien. N'est-il pas probable qu'il s'agit encore du même projet de voyage que dans la lettre du 20 août 1824 à Mareste? Casimir Stryienski, lorsqu'il publia pour la première fois, dans la *Revue blanche*, cet *Avis aux têtes légères*, le data sans hésitation du 1<sup>er</sup> octobre 1824;<sup>4</sup> c'est seulement dans les *Soirées du Stendhal-Club* qu'il introduisit, sans la justifier, la date du 10 octobre 1827, reproduite par les éditeurs de la *Correspondance*.<sup>5</sup> La raison de cette correction semble évidente: dans l'intervalle, il avait eu communication de la lettre à Mareste faussement datée d'août 1827,<sup>6</sup> et, pour éviter une contradiction entre deux

<sup>1</sup> L'annonce de la première édition fut retranchée du *Journal des Débats* du mardi 17 août. Quant au *Journal de la Librairie*, il annonça en même temps la première et la seconde éditions (2 feuilles 3/4 et 3 feuilles, respectivement) dans son numéro du samedi 28 août 1824, p. 517; une troisième édition fut annoncée le 4 septembre.

<sup>2</sup> *Correspondance de Stendhal*, II, 469.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 471-74.

<sup>4</sup> Casimir Stryienski, "Stendhallana," *Revue blanche*, mars 1894, p. 221, n. 1.

<sup>5</sup> Casimir Stryienski, *Soirées du Stendhal-Club* (Paris, 1904), p. 267.

<sup>6</sup> Il la publia le premier dans les *Soirées du Stendhal-Club*, p. 260.

documents qui traitaient apparemment du même sujet, avait porté de 1824 à 1827 la date de l'*Avis aux têtes légères*. Mais il n'avait pas remarqué un détail qui témoignait clairement que l'*Avis* était bien de 1824: "Au reste," concluait Stendhal après avoir recommandé les *vetturini*, "on vient d'établir une diligence de Milan à Rome. Les prix sont dans la *Gazette de Milan* des premiers jours de septembre 1824."<sup>1</sup> Stendhal n'eût point écrit "on vient d'établir" en signalant une innovation vieille de trois ans; cette expression montre qu'il écrivait presque immédiatement après l'événement, et, en effet, le nouveau service de diligences entre Rome et Milan fut inauguré le 1<sup>er</sup> septembre 1824, comme en font foi les *Notizie del giorno* du 2 septembre 1824, qui annoncent en outre les jours de départ, et publient la liste des prix.<sup>2</sup>

C'est donc d'octobre 1824 qu'il faut dater l'*Avis aux têtes légères*. Les conséquences de cette correction ne manquent pas d'intérêt: les renseignements que Stendhal donne dans l'*Avis* sur les itinéraires qu'il a suivis, et les séjours qu'il a faits à Gênes, à Florence, à Rome, se rapportent, non point au voyage de 1827, comme on l'a cru jusqu'à présent, mais au voyage de 1823-24. C'est alors qu'il est allé de Florence à Rome pour dix écus, avec le *vetturino* Minchioni; qu'il a fait à Rome la connaissance de l'excellent Agostino Manni, le plus obligeant des hommes, et qu'il a logé Largo dell'Imperia alla Lotteria, tout en rêvant d'habiter Via Gregoriana, "vis-à-vis M. le Consul Prussien."

Non seulement les contradictions apparentes de l'itinéraire de 1827 disparaissent alors, mais nous pouvons nous faire une idée plus complète et plus claire du voyage de 1823-24, jusqu'ici trop négligé des stendhaliens, et pourtant essentiel pour la genèse des *Letters from Rome*,<sup>3</sup> du second *Rome, Naples et Florence*, et des *Promenades dans Rome*.

ROBERT VIGNERON

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

<sup>1</sup> *Correspondance de Stendhal*, II, 471.

<sup>2</sup> *Notizie del giorno*, Roma, Giovedì, 2 settembre 1824, p. 4. Nous n'avons pu consulter la *Gazette de Milan*.

<sup>3</sup> *New Monthly Magazine*, September 1, 1824, pp. 269-76; November 1, 1824, pp. 467-72; July 1, 1825, pp. 33-39; September 1, 1825, pp. 243-48. Nous en préparons l'édition.

## REVIEWS

*The Rhyme Words in the Divina Commedia.* By ALFONSO DE SALVIO.  
Paris: Champion, 1929. Pp. xiv+127.

This volume classifies and analyzes all the rhyme words of the *Commedia* which could for any reason be regarded as abnormal or unnatural. It comprises a two-page Introduction, a classification of over a thousand of Dante's rhyme words, a brief Conclusion (in a single paragraph), and an Index of the thousand-odd words discussed. The work correlates and amplifies the similar studies by Nannucci, Zingarelli, Parodi, and others, basing its classification on the scheme used by Parodi (*Bull. della Soc. Dant.*, N.S., Vol. III); it forms an important and useful compendium of a large amount of material, conveniently compressed and arranged. In general, it demonstrates satisfactorily that Dante's rhyme words, even when they appear most unusual, had ample precedent in the works of earlier and contemporary writers. Dante uses frequent Latinisms, both in form and meaning; but so did many another writer of his day. His one peculiarity was his (apparently) frequent coining of new verbs; occasionally on a Latin basis (as *appulcro*, 'I embellish'); but far more frequently from the Italian: *falcare*, 'to curve'; *mirrare*, 'to embalm,' 'to preserve'; *uncinare*, 'to hook' (not, as it is here translated on p. 64, 'to pierce'); *attergare*, 'to back up'; etc. These coinings, however, doubtless result more in every case from the poet's passion for vivid and pungent expression than from any desire—or need—to coin a rhyme.

Here and there Dr. de Salvio's study, quite apart from its main purpose, throws an interesting light on minor problems of interpretation. On pages 6-7, for example, the word *raccorse*, *Par.* XII, 45 (which some commentators take for *raccolse*, 'rallied,' while others regard it as the past absolute of *raccorgersi*, 'to repent'), appears, if taken for *raccolse*, as the only case of *r* for *l* in all Dante's rhyme vocabulary. Dr. de Salvio refrains from emphasizing the fact or drawing any conclusion; but it might be noted as a strong argument against the *raccolse* interpretation.

The book, interesting and stimulating as it is, is marred by some inconsistencies, slips, and misprints. Various comments and corrections suggest themselves as one reads. Page 15, "*Anniballo* in *Intelligenza* . . .": *Anniballo* occurs in the *Fatti di Cesare*, but not in *Intelligenza*, which has *Anibaldo*, both in the Piccoli edition used for this book and in the far better edition of Mistruzzi (Bologna, 1928). Page 23, "*Pareti* . . .": this word as masculine instead of feminine (*Purg.* XXII, 117) is probably a Latinism, and should be so noted. Page 24, "Dante uses within the verse *pareti*, *Purg.* XIX, 48

. . . .": read "*pareti* as *masc.*" Page 29, "*Riserrolli* for *riserrò loro*": read ". . . . for *li riserrò*." Page 30, "*Signorso* for *signor suo*. . . . The enclitic form is . . . . found though not frequently . . . .": it was surely far more common than this statement seems to suggest, and persisted popularly (for personal relationships) well into the sixteenth century. A certain well-known young lady of the Cinquecento was widely known as "*Madrema non vuole*" on account of her frequent (though purely rhetorical) use of the phrase. Page 32, "*Raccorce* may easily be the second person singular of *raccorcire* . . . .": surely not easily, for the *-ire* form of the verb was and is excessively rare, and the one case in which we can be sure which form Dante was using (*Par.* XXIX, 129) must come from the usual form *raccorciare*. The present indicative of the first conjugation with second singular in *e* instead of *i* was very common indeed in Dante and elsewhere (cf. p. 34, where *raccorce*, properly, is so explained). Page 37, ". . . . examples of *éramo* which, however, may be taken for the modern *éramo* . . . .": "the modern *éramo*" seems to call for explanation. Page 54, "*Soluto* for *solto*, *Inf.* X, 114" and "*soluto* for *sciolto* is used within the verse in *Par.* XV, 52": *soluto* should not be treated here under "Participles," since it is perfectly regular (*solto* would be most abnormal!) as the past participle of *solvere*. Dante uses *solvere* and *sciogliere* with almost equal freedom (*solvere* and its parts actually with greater frequency), apparently as synonyms: the fact hardly calls for comment; but if discussed at all it should be under the verb *solvere*, presumably among the Latinisms on page 91. Page 64, "*uncina* 'pierces': not 'pierces' but 'hooks.' Page 69, "*Inciela* . . . . gives a higher place in heaven . . . .": delete "higher." Page 101, "*Aleppe* . . . . of unknown derivation and meaning": see however *Revue de Litt. comp.*, II, 509. Page 107, "*Paroffia* . . . .": in the discussion of this word there should also be a reference to Schiaffini's elaborate study in *Studi Danteschi* (Florence: Sansoni, 1922), V, 99-131. Pages 109-11, "Verse endings in which Dante made 'li vocaboli dire altro che quello ch'erano appo gli altri dicitore usati di esprimere'": under this heading are a number of rather dubious entries, e.g., "*Alvo* . . . . *Purg.* XXVII, 25. The original meaning of *alvo* was 'womb,' but here it means 'midst'": surely the meaning is still 'womb,' though used in a figurative sense. Cary translates it literally as 'womb.' Cf. *Ps.* 110:3, "the womb of the morning"; also such figures as (in English) "the bowels of the earth," etc. (There is a similar point to be made in connection with the statement on page 17, "*Strupo* is derived from *stuprum* and means 'rebellion.'") Dante did not think of the word as meaning rebellion; he was simply using a familiar biblical figure to denote one aspect of what the *doctores sancti* had sometimes referred to as *fornicatio spiritualis*.) "*Nervi* . . . . *Inf.* XV, 114. An unusual word for 'genitals'": but the meaning is 'muscles,' quite regularly; at most, Dante is using a natural synecdoche. "*Penne* . . . . *Inf.* XX, 45. Here it means 'beard' instead of 'feathers'": if so, it is a figure, not a misuse; and Cary translates it literally 'plumes.' Some commentators, however, take *maschili penne* in a less delicate sense. "*Stempre* . . . . 'to rebuke' instead of 'to weak-

en,' Purg. XXX, 96": but is the meaning here 'to rebuke'? Cf. Cary's 'consumest.' "*Tortura* . . . Purg. XXV, 109. It meant 'something wrong,' here it means 'twist,' 'turn' of the circle": but the meaning of 'a twist' or 'a twisting' was common enough, both in post-classic Latin and in early Italian. (Is "wrong" here possibly a misprint for "wrung"?)

Misprints in English words (such as *an*, *bewen*, *opisodes*, *foreing*, *wich*, for *and*, *between*, *episodes*, *foreign*, *which*) will cause little trouble; in the Italian, however, they are less harmless: page 19, *cive* for *cioè*; page 38, *veniano* for *venivano*; page 38, *seguon* for *seguono*; page 46, *fuggi* for *fuggia*; page 57, *Istra* . . . for *Issa* . . .; page 108, *Runciglio* for *Ronciglio*; etc. The slips in the references seriously prejudice the value of the book: a more or less random checking of fifty or so among thousands of citations has revealed six mistakes—some 10 per cent! Doubtless if all were checked the proportion would be vastly diminished; but the errors must, at best, be appallingly numerous. We note, merely as samples: page 20: *Tesoretto* XI, 99 for . . . XI, 200; page 21: *Inf.* XXVIII, 116 for . . . XXVII, 116; page 39: *Vita Nuova* XXVII for . . . XXII; page 43: *Pet.* CCXCIII, 1 for . . . CCXCIII, 7; page 62: *Eneide*, I, 6 for . . . VI, 116 (!); page 110: . . . No. 25 for . . . No. 22. It is regrettable that so important and so laborious a work should be thus marred by carelessness in its final preparation; but if the book is used with caution, much will be found in it to stimulate and help the Dante scholar.

WALTER L. BULLOCK

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

*Aneddoti della vita di Francesco Petrarca.* By ARNALDO FORESTI. Brescia: Vannini, 1928. Pp. 478.

Literary history has, I think, no biographical field of greater inherent interest and of greater scope for research than the field of the biography of Petrarch; and there is, perhaps, no case in which biographical data serve to a greater extent to illumine the true significance of an author's writings or in which those writings constitute potentially a more complete autobiography.

For the last twelve years Arnaldo Foresti, president of the R. Istituto Tecnico "Nicolò Tartaglia" of Brescia, has been publishing an extraordinary series of studies within this field. They are remarkable in extent, for they have been appearing at the rate of four or five a year; and they are hardly to be surpassed in quality. To an intimate knowledge of the whole mass of Petrarchan verse and prose, Latin and Italian—controlled so perfectly that he can readily perceive hitherto unperceived relationships between different documents—Foresti adds tireless industry, brilliance in discovery, and solid logic. The resulting mass of studies constitutes the greatest contribution which any one man has ever made in the field of the biography of Petrarch; and constitutes, I think, one of the most notable achievements in the entire field of Romance scholarship.

While these studies were still scattered in a score of different Italian periodicals, Henry Cochin summarized many of them in a long and highly appreciative article, "Les récents progrès des études pétrarquiques: Arnaldo Foresti," in *Études italiennes*, VIII (1926), 85-104 and 140-70. This article closes with the expression of the desire for a collection of these studies "en un livre général, et sous une forme complète et suivie." This desire is fulfilled in the book which bears the unduly modest title of *Aneddoti della vita di Francesco Petrarca*.

The *Aneddoti* include fifty studies, forty-three reprinted (with slight modifications and additions) and seven new. They range over the entire Petrarchan field—youth and age, literary and political activity, inner experience and outer event. The typical process, though by no means the only one, is that of chronological research; the typical study has the intense brevity of a mathematical thesis, and leaves as little room for dissent.

The field is one of extraordinary difficulty, particularly in view of the fact that Petrarch never ceased retouching what he had written—whether in Italian verse, Latin verse, or Latin prose—even after he had released copies for virtual publication. At any given date the whole mass of his previous composition seems to have been present to his consciousness, and present in manuscript in his home; and whenever—as, for instance, through acquaintance with a new classic author—opportunities for major or minor improvements or decorations occurred to him, he made them. His concern for the effect of his work upon posterity led him to arrange and rearrange, to cut and combine, to edit and re-edit. There is, indeed, a sense in which every work of Petrarch was a lifelong work. In dealing with such documents, Foresti shows almost uncanny powers of detection. Time and place and mood of the original composition stand revealed, and later modifications appear in their true light.

Yet Foresti is not content with the mere exercise of the detective process. He seeks the literary or human results which emerge from the process. His work offers, indeed, still another demonstration of the fact that strict research and appreciative interpretation may well go hand in hand.

Perhaps the most impressive numerical index of the extent of his contributions is the fact that he establishes new dates, with certainty, or with a high degree of probability, for more than one hundred of the prose letters of Petrarch; and draws new interpretative consequences therefrom. For the *Epistolae metricae* the extent of his contributions is proportionately large.

The review of the *Aneddoti* by Ruth S. Phelps in *Modern Language Notes*, XLIV (1929), 402-4, lists in compact and convenient form the major results of nearly all the fifty studies.

I append, with some comments, a somewhat fuller account of the main cases in which Foresti throws new light on poems of the *Canzoniere*.

No. 27 (*Aneddoti*, chap. v). The *mansueta e gentil agna* is Agnese Colonna, sister of Bishop Giacomo Colonna (long since recognized as the addressee of No. 28) and wife of Count Orso dell'Anguillara, to whom, consequently, the sonnet is addressed.



No. 39 (chap. ix). Foresti supports with weighty evidence the suggestion of Carducci that the addressee is Cardinal Giovanni Colonna, and argues that the sonnet was written in Avignon shortly after Petrarch's return in the summer of 1337. Foresti thinks that the second quatrain is allegorical, the *faticoso od alto Loco* referring to a high moral endeavor. I see no reason for not taking it quite literally. The sonnet is in a sense a poem of travel: the Alps were still in Petrarch's mind.

No. 40 (*ibid.*). The *tela novella* is the *De viris illustribus*; the *dilecto padre* is Livy, not St. Augustine; the phrase *l'un coll'altro vero accoppio* refers to Petrarch's eclectic historical method; the addressee is again Cardinal Giovanni Colonna; and MS 5690 of the Bibliothèque Nationale is the very volume loaned to Petrarch as a result of the request made in this sonnet. A remarkably brilliant study.

No. 99 (chap. vi). This sonnet is addressed, as Cochin had first maintained, to Giovanni Colonna di San Vito. Foresti strengthens this attribution (as against an intervening attribution by Rossi to the Dominican Giovanni Colonna); dates the sonnet late in 1336; and sets forth the state of mind in which it was composed.

No. 113 (chap. xii). This sonnet reflects conditions in Avignon in 1342. I may add that a relatively early date for Nos. 112 and 113, which apparently belong together, is indicated by the fact that No. 112 is imitated by Boccaccio in the *Filostrato*, Part V, Stanzas 54 and 55: see my "Notes on Petrarch," in *Modern Language Notes*, XXII (1917), 197.

No. 114 (*ibid.*). This sonnet is addressed to Giovanni Colonna di San Vito, and was written near the end of May, 1342.

No. 119 (chap. xvi). The three *canzoni* now numbered 119, 264, and 360 are companion pieces, written in 1343, expressing a single state of mind by means of a single poetic technique. In this state of mind, induced largely by the *monacazione* of Petrarch's brother Gherardo, the ideas of love and of glory were both violently challenged by a profound religious concern. No. 119 has no immediate relation to the coronation on the Capitol, now two years past. The *altro messaggio* of the *commiato* is a contemplated proclamation of Petrarch's full conversion.

No. 139 (chap. xxii). This sonnet refers to a visit paid by Petrarch to the convent of Montrieux early in 1347. The *dolce schiera amica* consisted of friendly monks; the *valle aprica* is that of the Gapeau; the line *Ove 'l mar nostro più la terra implica* refers to the Gulf of Hyères; *Ierusalem* is the life of the convent; and *Egitto* is the life of Avignon.

No. 189 and the *ballata Donna mi vene spesso ne la mente* (chap. xiii) date from 1342 or 1343, and reflect in particular the distress of mind which came to Petrarch from his *liaison* with the mother of Francesca.

No. 238 (chap. x). The nobleman of *Real natura* who kissed Laura is Petrarch's friend Azzo da Correggio, whose very name (*cor regio*) was probably in Petrarch's mind when he chose the first two words of the sonnet. Previous discussions have been on the wrong track as a result of the precon-



ception that a sonnet in this part of the *Canzoniere* must be relatively late; but, as Foresti points out, "Il sonetto appartiene a una sezione del canzoniere che contiene in disordine rime di diversa data." In the same connection he rightly stresses the correspondences and infers the contemporaneity of the two *sestine*, Nos. 22 and 237. The non-chronological and supplementary character of this part of the *Canzoniere* is brought out in Miss Phelps' *The Earlier and Later Forms of Petrarch's Canzoniere* (Chicago, 1925), and in my study "On the Transcription by Petrarch in V.L. 3195," in *Modern Philology*, XXIV (1927), 261 ff. and 389 ff. The fact that the two *sestine* are companions may be proved beyond question by reference to the clearly intentional contrasts of the two sets of rhyme words:

No. 22	No. 237
terra	onde
sole	luna
giorno	notte
stelle	boschi
selva	piagge
alba	sera

No. 264. See above, under No. 119.

No. 360. See above, under No. 119. The assignment of this *canzone* to the year 1343, despite the facts that the poem stands so near the end of the *Canzoniere*, that Laura died in 1348, and that the poem refers to her death, is one of Foresti's most notable achievements. His method of attack is really derived from methods skilfully and successfully used by him in solving chronological puzzles in the *Epistolae*. His thesis, which rests on the facts that the first part of the poem represents Petrarch's love for Laura as active and that the references to her death all occur near the end of the poem, is that the poem was first written while Laura was alive, and that the last stanzas were added years afterward. This thesis might be strengthened by reference to the fact that the poem is one of those contained in the *duernione* which Petrarch inserted at a late date in V.L. 3195, and belongs therefore to a section of the *Canzoniere* which is non-chronological and supplementary (cf. the remarks and references under No. 238, above).

ERNEST H. WILKINS

OBERLIN COLLEGE

*Claude Chappuys (?-1575). Poète de la cour de François Ier.* Thesis presented at the University of Poitiers, June, 1929, by LOUIS P. ROCHE, for the Doctorat de l'Université. Paris: Société d'Édition "Les Belles Lettres," 1929. Pp. xi+195.

To the series of recent monographs treating minor poets of the reign of Francis I: Charles Fontaine, Victor Brodeau, Eustorg de Beaulieu, Charles de Sainte-Marthe, etc., and to which American scholars have made no small contribution, Mr. Louis P. Roche of Dublin, Ireland, adds a complete and well-

documented study of the *libraire royal* of Francis I, Claude Chappuys, whose name comes up repeatedly in the literary history of the first half-century.

The literary baggage of this author was augmented by M. Jean Plattard<sup>1</sup> in 1925 by fifty-three poems which had been erroneously printed as the work of Mellin de Saint-Gelays in modern editions, notably that of Blanchemain. The authority for their restitution to Chappuys reposes on a little-known manuscript of the library of Soissons (n° 188), a sixteenth-century anthology where the poems are formally and each separately attributed to that author. Mr. Roche by diligent research has shown that two anonymous poems of the same manuscript must also be attributed to Chappuys. The author of the *Doctrinal de la Court* therefore becomes, "quantitatively" at least, one of the most important of the *mineurs* of the epoch.

Mr. Roche should have consulted such an important manuscript in the original and not merely in photographic reproduction (p. ix). There is little doubt<sup>2</sup> that it was the personal property of Chappuys. On the first folio we find written the name Chausse, identified by Mr. Roche as Cosme Chausse (p. x), *secrétaire de la chambre* under Francis I and Henry II; but the letters—*usse* of the name have been heavily written over the imperfectly erased—*ppuys* which are still faintly visible. Furthermore, the signature of Chappuys' name to each of the fifty-three poems is in a different hand from that of the scribe, and the difference in ink is nearly everywhere noticeable. The text is occasionally corrected by what seems to be this same hand (cf. f. 39 recto). There is therefore a likelihood that Chappuys signed the poems and made the occasional corrections. It seems to me that these facts needed to be pointed out and that they constitute arguments as strongly in favor of the authenticity of the signed poems as those advanced by Mr. Roche (p. xi) on the basis of his study of MS 523 of the Musée Condé at Chantilly.

In this connection, one is rather surprised that Mr. Roche makes no mention in his volume of the late René Sturel, for, although Montaiglon in 1858 had pointed out that these poems were attributed to Chappuys in the MS of Soissons, this fact had long since been forgotten, and Sturel was the first to examine seriously Chappuys' titles. He had before the war made some progress on a monograph upon that author, and it was due to him that interest was again revived in the MS.<sup>3</sup>

Mr. Roche's method, as in the case of the majority of these monographs, was clearly indicated by his material. In Part I he proposes to write as complete a biography as possible from the sources. Part II deals with a study of Chappuys the poet.

Chappuys' life falls into two distinct periods. Down to 1536 (pp. 1-38), it was passed almost entirely at the court of Francis I or upon missions in the service of Jean du Bellay. Mr. Roche brings forward a rich documentation to

<sup>1</sup> *Revue du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 1925, pp. 182-83.

<sup>2</sup> I have been able to study the MS at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, where it has been since the beginning of the war.

*Revue du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 1925, p. 183.

sketch the main lines of Chappuys' career as courtier-poet, of which he may be taken as a type, dabbling in small verse in the manner of Saint-Gelays, poems of circumstance, and longer "official" pieces in honor of the king. Chappuys' relations with his contemporaries Rabelais, Saint-Gelays, Salmon Macrin, Macault, Marot, Brodeau, Héroët are then developed in an interesting manner by Mr. Roche.

In 1537 Chappuys' life changes radically. He goes to Rouen and from that time on (pp. 39-73) his biography is of little interest to the literary historian. It belongs to the ecclesiastical and municipal history of Rouen. His struggle with his fellow ecclesiastics over the deanship of the cathedral in Rouen, his shortcomings in office, his grasping for benefices, his rise to a position of influence and esteem in the city, his participation in its literary life, his difficulties with the orthodox clergy because of supposed heretical tendencies on his part, his death at an advanced age in 1575—all these matters have been elucidated by Mr. Roche in a manner which is a tribute to his scholarly perseverance and accuracy as well as to his patient search through the archives of the Seine-Inférieure.

Part II (pp. 77-141), entitled *Œuvres de Chappuys*, gives an estimate of Chappuys the poet, with extracts from his work. His poems are generally poor in inspiration and prosaic according to Mr. Roche, an opinion which I share. To please the court and king by continual praise is the aim of all these poets. Pages 79-96 give a very long summary of the *Discours de la Court*. One misses here a proportionate consideration of the shorter poems. Other chapters deal with the poetry of Chappuys in its relation to the rivalry of Francis I and Charles V, Chappuys as "official" poet under Henry II and Charles IX, and the *Eptres* and *Epigrammes*.

Two appendixes follow the work, the first containing two letters of Chappuys and other relevant pieces drawn from the archives, the second furnishing a table of *incipits*, with certain *inedita* given *in extenso*, along with a complete list of sources—a veritable monument of patience. Bibliographies of manuscripts, of the printed works of Chappuys, and of works of commentary terminate the volume. The alphabetical index of personal and place names is so complete as to include, for example, Philadelphia, where one of the works of commentary in the bibliography was published.

This, Mr. Roche's "*premier travail personnel*" is a definitive and valuable contribution to those "*travaux d'approche*" which later will facilitate a "*synthèse lumineuse et précise*" of the literary history of the first half of the sixteenth century. Thanks to his researches and those of M. Plattard, certain modifications will have to be made in such works as that of Molinier and that of Becker on Mellin de Saint-Gelays and in the editions of that author.

I add a few rectifications and suggestions:

Page xii—or, *ce manuscrit* (Soissons 188) *contient d'autres pièces qui sont sûrement de lui* (Chappuys) (*par exemple l'Eptre d'une navigation*), *toutes anonymes*. My examination of this poem in the manuscript shows it to be

signed as the other poems; and in fact, Mr. Roche states this to be the case elsewhere: p. 12, n. 1; p. 137, n. 1.

Pages 9-17. Mr. Roche produces the documents to prove that the *Epistre d'une navigation*, describing the voyage of the French cardinals by sea to Rome to elect a successor to pope Clement VII in 1534, is the work of Chappuys and not that of La Borderie, to whom it was formerly attributed. He would have found a brief official notice of this same voyage in a printed mémoire attached to MS Bib. Nat. fonds français 17329 (f. 80) and in MS Clairambault, Bib. Nat. 825 (f. 114) which make it certain (and not probable, p. 12) that the expedition set out from Marseilles. The most interesting feature of this long, unedited poem, perhaps the most personal of Chappuys' work, has not been mentioned by Mr. Roche. I refer to the rich technical nautical vocabulary employed especially in the storm scenes, which I have not found in similar descriptions before Chappuys. Chappuys and Rabelais were friends (p. 10). There is every chance, then, that the latter knew this poem and that it influenced the nautical vocabulary employed with such comic effect in the storm scene of Book IV of the *Pantagruel*. In addition, the last-will-and-testament episode is sketched in Chappuys' poem in the storm scene and expanded by Rabelais. I have found nothing similar elsewhere. Mr. Roche (p. 131) believes that La Borderie probably imitated the *Epistre* in his *Discours du Voyage à Constantinople*. No bit of literary plagiarism seems to me to be more clear, and here again in addition to other evidence there might have been added that of the nautical terms, the use of which is similar in both poems.<sup>1</sup> Both from a historical and literary point of view the *Epistre d'une navigation* of Chappuys merits publication.

Page 33. A propos of the *Parfaite Amie* of Héroët we read: *Ce poème donna lieu à une controverse poétique à laquelle Chappuys ne semble pas s'être mêlé*. Mr. Roche is apparently not aware that this controversy (the *querelle des amies*) was inaugurated by La Borderie and Charles Fontaine and that Héroët's poem was an effect, not a cause, as M. Gohin clearly demonstrated (*Œuvres poétiques d'Antoine Héroët* [Paris: Société des textes français modernes, 1909], p. xxiv).

Page 136. La Borderie's name first appears on the list of *valets de chambre* of Francis I in 1540 (MS Bibliothèque Nationale, *Fonds français* 7853, f. 348v.) and not in 1535; and the voyage to Constantinople took place in 1537 and 1538, and not in 1538 alone.

Page 137. The last line of the extract from the *Epistre* should read: *Et tous non point le ciel, mais demandent la terre* (MS Chantilly 523.)

Page 184. Harvitt (H.) *Eustorg de Beaulieu*, 1920. This work, which appeared in the *Romanic Review*, was published in book form by the Columbia University Press, Lancaster, Pennsylvania.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Roche has not pointed out that the *Epistre* of Chappuys is dated October 30, 1534, in the Chantilly manuscript, which proves that it was written before the *Discours* of La Borderie.

It is too bad that Mr. Roche's excellent work has been printed in such unattractive form. Poor paper, badly worn and blurry type, a coarse, dark-blue cover are little inducement to fathom its contents.

CHARLES H. LIVINGSTON

PARIS, 1929

---

*The Latin Poems of John Milton.* Edited by WALTER MACKELLAR. "Cornell Studies in English," Vol. XV. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1930. Pp. 382.

Dr. MacKellar has given us, in a bulky volume of 382 pages, the first separate edition of Milton's Latin poems. The bulk is largely caused by the translation and notes, as the Latin text itself occupies only fifty-five pages. For the translation, which is accurate and useful, many readers will be grateful, but it is to be doubted whether those who would look up a separate edition of the Latin poems need to be told what the phoenix was, or the house of Pelops, or the Academy, or Circe, Olympus, and Philomela. I select at random from a number of what seem to me superfluous explanations. If this sort of information had been taken for granted, the amount of annotation could have been greatly reduced. On the other hand, some of the notes, such as those on geographical names not found in classical dictionaries and those on Milton's metrical peculiarities, are excellent, for they cover matters on which even the most intelligent reader needs assistance.

In his treatment of the text the editor has followed Beeching's edition, compared with Grierson and the Oxford type-facsimile of the first edition of 1645. There is, however, no indication of this comparison in the notes (except for *Elegia* v. 30, where the change is cited to show Milton's correction of a false quantity in issuing the second edition), and anyone interested in the history of the text must do his own collating. Although there are only a few variant readings to be recorded and the text as it stands is as correct as one could desire for reading, nevertheless it is to be regretted that in such an exhaustive treatment as Dr. MacKellar has given us in this volume he did not make the 1645 edition the basis and give textual notes on all the variations of 1673 and the significant emendations of later editors. In most cases the proofreading has been accurate, but I have noted the following slips: page 98, line 41, *teneat* for *teneant*; page 154, line 30, *modulantes* for *modulantes*; page 154, line 45, *herboso* for *herbosa*; page 158, line 85, *tactitae* for *tacitae*; page 168, line 145, *facile* for *facili*.

The introductions to the individual poems are excellent, both as to facts and discussion. This is particularly true in the treatment of Milton's experimental verse form in the ode to Rouse, even though there is no suggestion of the possible connection between it and the similar experiments of other neo-Latin poets before and during Milton's time. In fact, those who are interested

in neo-Latin poetry in general or in Anglo-Latin poetry in particular are likely to be disappointed in Dr. MacKellar's book. His rather superficial sketch of Renaissance Latin poetry in Italy is not connected with Milton. Although the notes contain a number of comparisons with Buchanan, there is no general discussion of the extent of his influence on his successor. Neither is there any discussion of the classical borrowings of Milton or of the relative influence of particular classical authors on his style and content, although an unpublished Cornell dissertation on the Virgilian elements in Milton's works is listed in the Bibliography. In a word, no attempt is made to show Milton in his relation to the development of modern Latin poetry. A study from that point of view still remains to be done.

On the whole we should be grateful for the appearance of a volume devoted to Milton's Latin poems. As far as they relate to Milton himself, Dr. MacKellar's treatment is full and enlightening and should do much to bring to them the attention they deserve.

BROWN UNIVERSITY

LEICESTER BRADNER

---

*La pensée de Jean-Jacques Rousseau. Essai d'interprétation nouvelle.*

By ALBERT SCHINZ. ("Smith College Fiftieth Anniversary Publications.") Northampton, Massachusetts, 1929. 2 vols. Pp. viii + 521.

As the leading Rousseauist in this country, Professor Schinz has long been contributing to the lively discussions around Jean-Jacques. Some previous articles have been worked into the fabric of this *magnum opus*, which is an epitome of the labor and reflections of many years. We find here another well-knit and plausible synthesis of the Rousseauistic temperament and output. Yet, certain qualms arise in the reviewer.

In his Introduction, the author stresses the actuality of Rousseau, as shown not only by the quantity of fresh studies but also by the continued virulence of his latter-day enemies. The legendary Jean-Jacques should be distinguished from the true one. He is not to be regarded as an innovator in any respect: Professor Schinz accumulates a quantity of evidence to show that it had all been said before. (Here arises our first qualm: if Rousseau did not create anything, yet he surely "started something"; as Voltaire remarked, the man who drives the tennis-ball is more of a power than its maker.)

But the explanation of Rousseau's enormous influence is to be found for our critic neither in his supposed innovations nor in his "enchanted" style nor exactly in the *élan* of his personality. It is rather something deep within that personality, something central, some abiding *couche* where antinomies, if not reconciled, may at least lie down together. For it is no longer a question, as it has been for two generations of critics, of seeking a higher "unity" and of resolving the contradictions in Jean-Jacques' thought. Lanson himself has



given it up and has sought rather—which is now the real point—for the most inclusive formula by which to express the most essential contradiction. He has found it in the notion of a rhythmic oscillation from emotion to intelligence and back again. Others stick to the old warfare between individualistic and public-spirited thinking. By sifting together elements from each battle-front, may one oppose the Romantic to the Republican? That is virtually what Professor Schinz does, only his line-up takes more into account his subject's background and upbringing. "Rousseau romain" is one side of this ambiguous figure: "Rousseau romantique" is his recurrent antithesis. (Another qualm: Is this opposition too *simpliste*? As thus baldly expressed, the answer is, Yes. But Professor Schinz reckons with varying admixtures of the two elements, even within the same work. He would doubtless subscribe to what Strachey said of Gladstone: "Did not his very essence lie in the confusion of incompatibles?"')

The incompatibles in Rousseau, the causes and confusions of his lapsing from the Roman to the Romantic and back again, constitute the main problem attacked by the author. For his "Première Partie," giving the social setting for the conflict, is more summarily and less originally handled. But the second Part is a genuine contribution. Its chapter-titles are illuminating. Under "Rousseau et les Romains," we find (chap. i) the first *Discours*, as well as (chap. v) *Le contrat social*. In between, we have met with the Romantic, who first peeps out in the *Discours sur l'inégalité* (chap. ii, "Rousseau et les sauvages"), and again with the would-be stoic in the *Lettre sur les spectacles* (chap. iii, "Rousseau et les Suisses"). The two streams of tendency are curiously mingled in the *Nouvelle Héloïse* and in *Émile* (chaps. iv and vi).

Professor Schinz thus sets himself, perhaps rightly, against the formidable array of critics who hold that the *Contrat social* is unique in Rousseau's work. It is seen rather as the result of a long conflict, the triumph of that self-abnegatory tendency whether derivable from Calvin or from Cato (and Jean-Jacques confused the two), which warred with his ego from adolescence onward. But let us scrutinize the old Roman as rendered by the author—the Roman who wants to be a political and social prophet—and perhaps rid ourselves en route of certain residuary qualms.

Let it be said at once that Professor Schinz bears rather lightly on the illogicality and the school-boy declamations of the two *Discours*. Yet these were faults admitted by Jean-Jacques himself as regards the first *Discourse*. The extent to which this was an antisocial reaction against his Parisian sojourn is well indicated by the critic, who also analyzes the various kinds of *vertu* which Rousseau was incapable of analyzing. As for the primitivism of the *Discours sur l'inégalité*, I wish the author had quoted what Montesquieu said of the English constitution: "Ce beau système a été trouvé dans les bois ..." of St. Germain, where Rousseau dreamed it; and nowhere else that we know of, either on God's earth or in the human record. The "radical opposition" between the standpoint here and that of the first *Discours* is well brought out



by Professor Schinz, who is clear that there is no particular plea for "la bonté naturelle" in the second Discourse. The critic's best point is that Rousseau, in spite of dividing his work into two parts, recognizes *three* stages in the cumulative descent of man. It is the intermediate "state of nature," the Golden Age, that furnishes a favorable contrast with complete civilization. (But, as Lemaitre has pointed out, that too was part of the inevitable descent due to inventions; and following Rousseau's own premises, the cave man should have been happier than his pastoral successor.) As for the famous "return to nature," Professor Schinz, perhaps too absolutely, finds it nowhere recommended in the works of Jean-Jacques, except in "Note i," presently appended to this Discourse.

On the analogy of recent studies dealing with the "evolution of the thought" of various writers, Professor Schinz suggests that a similar process may help to account for Rousseau's anfractuosités. One fears that the time is too short, at any rate between the principal works, for this method to be generally applied. But it is well applied to the composition of the *Nowelle Héloïse* and very excellently to the several phases of the *Contrat social*, considered per se. The critic's contention that the discrepancies in the actual printed work can only be understood with reference to the preceding *ébauches*, is a model of exposition. There was the article on "Economie politique" in the *Encyclopédie*, which furnished a good deal, though not the central idea of the Contract. There was the original manuscript, especially of chapter ii, later deleted. Why was it cut out? Because Rousseau, seeking for a motive to enforce obedience to laws, had here rejected the sanctions of religion. But while he was revising for the printer, it suddenly occurred to Jean-Jacques that he and his Contract badly needed these sanctions. Hasty deletion of chapter ii (MS); maintenance of chapter iii (MS—"Du pacte fondamental"); and invention of "la religion civile," which is, however, removed from its proper place and put much later in the book, for the greater confusion of the argument.

If Professor Schinz, partly following Vaughan and others, is anything like right in his description of Jean-Jacques' book-making, this account is almost a sufficient indictment of Rousseau as a thinker. Furthermore, the heated and ill-informed brain of this auto-didact was never designed to deal with social and political questions. The present writer holds that Rousseau the Romanticist more legitimately displayed his talent, his sentiment, his fervor, his imagination. Whether we like the results or not, these are suitable elements for fiction and autobiography. But when a whole revolutionary system is welded in the same heat and watered by the same tears? . . . I am afraid that "Rousseau the Roman" was a considerable mistake.

A few textual comments and queries arising from Professor Schinz's pages. There are a fair number of misprints. Of positive errors there seem to be very few, though better-qualified reviewers may find more. It is not accurate to say (I, 14 and 46) that Faguet called Rousseau's mind a "chaos d'idées

claires"; Faguet used the phrase of Voltaire, not of Rousseau. (This correction is less for Professor Schinz than for his readers.) It is not convincing to speak of the sojourn at Les Charmettes (I, 125) as "le suprême adieu de Rousseau au romantisme." The whole affair of Mme d'Houdetot, with its repercussion in the *Nouvelle Héloïse*, was still to come. Perhaps this statement had better be considered as a *boutade*. To a similar impulse toward reacting from the obvious and from common iterations regarding Rousseau, I would attribute the following questionable views: That Jean-Jacques had little feeling for picturesque nature (I, 28-29; after Mornet). That the interpretation of Rousseau (I, 11) has for long "marked time." (But Mornet's work on the background of the *Nouvelle Héloïse* anticipated Professor Schinz's "Première Partie"; and later he admits the fertile contributions of Masson, Vaughan, Havens, Edme Champion, and others.) That the identical problems, identical arguments pro and con, the same wearisome *clichés* about "nature" and "virtue" constantly recur among the critics (I, 12-13). (*Que voulez-vous?* The problems, the repeated key-words are inherent in Jean-Jacques.) That it does not particularly matter (I, 155-56) whether Rousseau or Diderot gave the more correct account of the "illumination" that lay at the basis of the first *Discours*. (It matters to the extent that if Diderot suggested to Jean-Jacques which side of the argument to put his wits on, then the thorough sincerity of the latter's case against civilization becomes less apparent.) It seems, too, that the old issue of "Pragmatism" is played up rather too much with regard to *Émile* and in the "Conclusion," where I believe the author exaggerates the final triumph of "la raison" in Rousseau. I cannot consider him a reasonable animal.

Yet the author has amply fortified his main thesis: that the unsolved equation (reason  $\times$  sentiment = ?) may be resolved—or submerged—in the fluid personality of the man himself. Janus may have been two-faced, but he was one god for all that. So on the whole this is a book of value, a book that stimulates to emphatic agreement or dissent. For Rousseau is the eternal touchstone of opinion. Whatever the reader's may be, this work furthers our knowledge of the subject more than anything else that has hitherto appeared in America.

E. PRESTON DARGAN

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

*The German Influence in Danish Literature in the XVIII Century: The German Circle in Copenhagen, 1750-1770.* By J. W. EATON, Cambridge: At the University Press, 1929. Pp. 207.

This book is certain to arouse interest in Germanic circles, for no previous work has dealt adequately with the German influence upon Danish literature. In fact, the author states in the Preface that it has been "purposely obscured by the Danes in order to preserve political and literary independence." He then describes the low cultural state of Denmark toward the middle of the

eighteenth century and attributes it to three main causes: an unenlightened, absolutistic form of government, the stagnation brought about by pietism, and the fact that the court spoke German instead of Danish. Holberg, the writer of comedy, was the only outstanding Danish literary figure at the time of the German invasion. Teutonic writers, scientists, artists, preachers, and educators left their fatherland to settle in Copenhagen, where lucrative appointments or pensions awaited them. Some, like Klopstock, had already achieved European fame but had received only small encouragement in their own country; others were relatively obscure at the time of their exodus, but won distinction in the land of their adoption. Three of the latter were J. E. Schlegel, H. W. Gerstenberg, and J. B. Basedow, who held an appointment at the Danish Eton—Sorø Academy. This preparatory school was the only one in Denmark where the sons of the nobility found instruction in the liberal arts before entering into official or academic life. It was the minister, Count E. J. Bernstorff, a nobleman of German descent, who was responsible for many of the appointments given to the Germans. His influence caused them to be given employment as court preachers, tutors, and private secretaries. Basedow owed to him his professorship at Sorø Academy, and Klopstock was indebted to him for his pension. Through the latter's influence J. A. Cramer became court preacher at the court church. Gerstenberg became a Danish civil servant. Although all these men came primarily for economic reasons, they brought with them new ideas in religion, education, art, and music. They took an interest in Scandinavian antiquity and showed the Danes the literary treasures in their own past. An instance of the latter is seen in Klopstock's and Gerstenberg's influence on Ewald, which made him turn to early Danish history for dramatic material. J. A. Scheibe, for a while a leader of the court orchestra, pointed out the musical qualities in the Danish language. Basedow shocked the pietistic with his unconventional criticisms of orthodoxy.

The author's sources are many and varied. They include published letters, memoirs, and general works on the period. Contemporary letters are often referred to; as primary sources they rank in importance with three contemporary *Zeitschriften*, all of them edited by members of the German circle: J. A. Cramer's *Der nordische Aufseher*, J. E. Schlegel's *Der Fremde*, and H. W. Gerstenberg's *Sorøske Samlinger* and *Briefe über die Merkwürdigkeiten der Literatur*. They are often quoted and present a particularly significant form of evidence. The footnotes include about forty additional titles that do not appear in the Bibliography.

Specific instances of direct influence are Klopstock's and Gerstenberg's influence on J. Ewald and Cramer's influence on J. S. Sneedorff. Thus, Klopstock's *Messias* and *Hermannsschlacht* inspired Ewald's *Adam og Eva* and *Rolf Krage*, respectively. Gerstenberg was instrumental in having Ewald's poem on the death of Christian VII accepted by Scheibe for his mourning cantata. Similarly, Cramer's *Der nordische Aufseher* caused Sneedorff to conceive the idea for *Den patriotiske Tilskuer*.

Whenever he has been unable to establish any direct influence the author is frank to say so. His desire to furnish us with as complete a list as possible leads him to include many figures of secondary importance, simply because they are Germans and happened to be in Copenhagen during the period under investigation. Such men were Oeder, the botanist; Kratzenstein, the physicist; Petzold, the sculptor; Preisler, the engraver; and Münter, the preacher. Scheibe, the musician, shared with Holberg a dislike for the popular Italian music of the day. Ewald claimed that the musical element in his poetry was largely due to Scheibe, "whose cantatas and oratorios were the first attempt to exploit the qualities of the Danish language in the field of music."

The two general works upon which the author draws most frequently are: L. Magon, *Ein Jahrhundert geistiger und literarischer Beziehungen zwischen Deutschland und Skandinavien* (p. 194), and N. M. Petersen, *Bidrag til den danske Litteraturs Historie* (p. 195). A majority of the very large number of titles in the Bibliography are quoted more than once. A slight oversight in classification (p. 193) has caused the author to place *Den patriotiske Tilskuer* under Tullin's name instead of under Sneedorff's. One obscure passage might be mentioned. On page 115 the author writes: "In the old northern histories they saw a new and fertile field for exploitation by poetry and the drama. Elias Schlegel founded the reputation of Copenhagen as a literary centre with *Der Fremde* and with the *Schleswiger Briefe* he increased the capital's reputation and brought Denmark into the main stream of European literature." Now the *Schleswiger Literaturbriefe* are by Gerstenberg. But this is the only inaccurate passage in a very interesting and well-written book.

F. W. BACHMANN

UNIVERSITY OF ROCHESTER

*Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- und Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm.*

Neu bearbeitet von JOHANNES BOLTE und GEORG POLFVKA unter Mitwirkung von ELISABETH KUTZER und BERNHARD HELLER. Leipzig: Dietrich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1930. Pp. vi+487.

This long-awaited volume does not complete the famous annotations to the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*. A fifth volume, which is announced for publication soon, will bring addenda to the earlier volumes, a survey of *märchen* collections in the nineteenth century, and an index of catchwords. The present volume contains eight chapters. Of these the first two have already appeared in *FF Communications*, Numbers XXXVI and XXXIX, respectively, and are now reissued in somewhat enlarged form. The six remaining chapters survey for the first time the distribution and use of *märchen* up to the nineteenth century. Within reasonable limits the survey is as complete as can be expected. In the different chapters there are considerable variations in the manner of treatment, but this could not easily be otherwise. All in all, the fourth

volume deserves its place in the scholar's library beside the first three as an indispensable work of reference.

As Professor Bolte has so often said in his reviews and notices, a few remarks and additions may be made to show the reader's appreciation. Page 62: The rhyme "Arthour knycht he raid on nycht" is not a narrative but a charm (see Taylor, *Rom. Rev.*, XII [1921], 286-87). Page 101: Is the story of Hackelberg connected in any way with this Egyptian myth (through the legend of Adonis)? (see Taylor, "The Death of Orvar Oddr," *Mod. Phil.*, XIX [1921], 93-106). Page 110: On Μολύ see W. Schwartz, *Zs. f. Ethnol.*, XIV (1882), 133-41. Page 115, note 4: Klinger's article is in the *Universitätskiia Izvestiia* (Kiev), Volume XLII (November, 1902). The omission of such bibliographical details as again in page 125, note 4 (Tegethoff, *Studien zum Märchentypus von Amor und Psyche* ["Rheinische Beiträge," No. IV]), makes it just so much the more difficult to verify the references. Of course the reference to Tegethoff will no doubt be explained in the final bibliography, but it is doubtful whether that to Klinger will be given in full later. Page 116, note 4: The omission here and elsewhere of Feilberg's *Bidrag til en ordbog over jyske almuesmål* (Copenhagen, 1886-1914), is regrettable; here the citation of the article "ring" would have been appropriate. Page 131: T. F. Crane's epochmaking Preface to the *Exempla of Jaques de Vitry* deserves mention for its value as a survey of the exemplum, and the huge compendium of H. L. D. Ward and J. A. Herbert, the *Catalogue of Romances in the British Museum*, merits a better fate than burial in a footnote (p. 133, n. 3). Page 133: The *Scala celi* contains more than 800 exempla. Page 140: To the references to *Gesta romanorum*, chapter cxxiv, add now: J. de Vries, "Die Märchen von den klugen Rätsellösern," *FF Communications*, Volume LXXIII (1928). Page 163: There is a convenient annotated edition of the *Libro de los gatos* by G. T. Northup (University of Chicago diss., 1908) in *Mod. Phil.*, V (1908), 477-554. Page 165: The exception which proves the rule regarding the absence of Germanic heroic tradition in Dutch popular verse is the "Jager uyt Griekenland" (Fl. van Duyse, *Het oude nederlandse Lied*, I, 44 ff., No. 6).

ARCHER TAYLOR

*Histoire du Romantisme en France.* By MAURICE SOURIAU, Professeur à la Faculté des Lettres de Caen. Tome I, Première partie: «Le Romantisme sous l'Ancien Régime; La Révolution; Le Consulat et l'Empire.» Tome I, Deuxième partie: «La Restauration.» Tome II: «La Décadence du Romantisme.» Paris: Editions Spes, 1927. Pp. liv+307+277; xiv+304.

Certes l'Académie Française a fait un choix excellent quand elle a décerné sa plus belle récompense, le Prix Broquette-Gonin, à ces trois volumes d'un savant qui depuis longtemps avait conquis le respect de ses frères d'armes, et

qui sont le fruit d'un travail probe et acharné—«fruit d'une existence tout entière», dit l'auteur lui-même. L'Académie n'a pas même attendu l'apparition du troisième volume pour prononcer son verdict.

On ne traitera plus aucune question ayant rapport au romantisme en France sans donner une place d'honneur à M. Souriau. Son érudition est des plus vastes; elle est des plus sûres; elle consiste en une connaissance approfondie non seulement des œuvres mêmes des auteurs étudiés, mais des travaux en nombre considérable sur ces auteurs, et qui se sont accumulés au cours des dernières années. Pas une ligne, avec cela, qui respire l'ennui; on ouvrira où on voudra ces trois volumes, et ce sera toujours intéressant. La note de l'humour même ne manque pas à l'occasion; on appréciera par exemple, chez ce grand érudit certains passages où il se moque spirituellement des chasseurs au document, des «sourciers», de ceux qui répandent des flots d'encre pour déterminer si Lamartine et Madame Charles ont été «du dernier bien, ou seulement de l'avant-dernier bien» (II, 60), etc.

C'est une «Histoire», et—en histoire littéraire surtout—l'objectivité absolue est difficile; on est sans cesse en présence d'individualités qui, par le seul fait qu'elles sortent de la moyenne, sollicitent, provoquent la discussion, le verdict d'approbation ou de désapprobation. L'attitude d'un Taine est-elle la vraie? C'est le point de vue de celui qui écrit ceci; mais ils sont nombreux encore ceux qui estiment que le critique a le droit, voire le devoir, de juger aussi. M. Souriau se range assez souvent à cette manière de voir; et parfois—mais jamais du reste sans appuyer ses dires de considérations sérieuses—il sait frapper: Stendhal qui serait carrément «surfait» dans «l'hyperreputation» dont il jouit depuis quelques années (II, 181); Vigny, (II, 147 s.); Sainte-Beuve (II, 196); l'immoralité de Marion de Lorme (III, 46 ss.). Ajoutons que ces exécutions sont faites parfois avec beaucoup de brio et d'esprit; celle de Madame de Staël est une joie pour l'esprit; l'éreintement plus poussé encore de George Sand est une plus grande joie aussi. La plupart du temps, cependant, M. Souriau départage avec une sagesse éprouvée entre des opinions contraires. Sa façon de traiter la question du voyage de Chateaubriand en Amérique, par exemple, paraît un modèle d'équité (I, 131-39; 171 ss.). Son appréciation de la petite querelle au sujet d'un changement de dates chez Vigny est d'une générosité rare chez les critiques (II, 142): «Donc, jusqu'à preuve matérielle du contraire, il faut accepter les dates de Vigny: on doit l'en croire quand il affirme quelque chose, étant donné la noblesse de son caractère.» Son «Hernani» est un excellent exemple encore: griefs abondants et formulés sans ménagement; mais: «Toutes ces critiques de détail sont justes, et pourtant dans l'ensemble *Hernani* fait figure de chef-d'œuvre à la scène ...» (II, 269). Et, disons en passant que les jugements des contemporains sur les œuvres étudiées, et puis ceux des générations suivantes, jusqu'à la nôtre, et qui sont si soigneusement recueillis par M. Souriau, sont d'une valeur inestimable pour les travailleurs qui tiennent à juger sainement des choses.



Si peut-être, dans la longue série des sujets traités, peu sont renouvelés de façon sensible—et il ne fallait pas s'y attendre puisque des travaux de ces nombreux déjà avaient été consacrés justement aux plus importants de ces sujets—on peut dire qu'ils sont toujours *précisés* autant que possible dans l'état actuel de nos connaissances. Quelques exemples: Lucile sœur de Chateaubriand, et Amélie de *René*, sont-elles une même personne? (I, 217); *Génie du Christianisme*, «antitype du *Dictionnaire philosophique*» de Voltaire (I, 193); les deux Elvire (II, 33); Béranger; l'affaire d'*Amy Robsart* remise au point (II, 221-23); *Préface de Cromwell* reprise avec un sens aigu de toute la question (II, 209-17, 246), et excellent résumé de la «Bataille d'Hernani» (II, 250 ss.); *Le More de Venise* qui risque de «couper en deux» l'école romantique (II, 248); précisions sur de petits problèmes relatifs à V. Hugo (II, 162, 165, 169, 170, etc.)—et combien d'autres! Et c'est là ce qui constitue la très grande valeur de l'ouvrage, ce qui le rend indispensable au travailleur. Hélas! ces trois volumes n'ont PAS D'INDEX!!!

A côté de l'histoire des faits, y a-t-il une histoire *philosophique* du romantisme? Il ne fallait peut-être pas trop s'en étonner. Nous n'avons même pas d'histoire philosophique du classicisme qui est cependant plus loin de nous et qu'on pourrait juger donc plus facilement encore. La chose est d'une complexité extrême. Comment, en effet, raconter à la fois en historien qui aligne chronologiquement les événements et en philosophe qui en cherche l'enchaînement logique, alors que les contingences brouillent constamment la logique; quand un auteur en a fini avec le romantisme alors que l'autre n'a pas commencé encore; quand l'un demeure romantique toute sa vie (c'est ainsi que M. Souriau voit V. Hugo) et l'autre passe délibérément à l'opposition; ou encore quand, comme c'est le cas de Musset, un auteur commence par fronder le romantisme en pleine période romantique et puis monte aux plus hauts sommets que le romantisme ait atteint lorsque le romantisme est fini (les *Nuits*). Ceci explique un peu pourquoi, parvenu avec M. Souriau à 1827 et 1830, on est en somme déçu de n'avoir pas la sensation qu'on arrive à des dates en quelque sorte fatidiques; c'est la vieille histoire des arbres qui empêchent d'apercevoir la forêt. Disons-nous aussi qu'on a peine à se persuader toujours, à la lecture du volume III, intitulé «Décadence», qu'on assiste à un spectacle qui réponde à ce titre? Il y a là *Notre Dame de Paris*, *Marion de Lorme*, les *Feuilles d'automne* (auxquelles M. Souriau consacre un des chapitres les plus enthousiastes de tout son long ouvrage); il y a au Livre II, le chapitre iv, intitulé «Les romans romantiques de George Sand»; il y a les *Nuits* même:—est-ce «décadence»? Peut-être en un certain sens; mais qui ne reconnaîtra pas que dans un autre sens, légitime aussi, c'est de sommets qu'il s'agit? Si les *Nuits* ne sont pas du romantisme, alors il y a malentendu sur ce terme. Balzac aussi est ainsi placé en dehors du romantisme: cela sera-t-il accordé par chacun? Remarquons enfin que dans son «Introduction» (p. xxxviii) M. Souriau avait distingué deux «écoles romantiques»: l'école de Chateau-



briand, 1802, et l'école de Victor Hugo, 1830; s'il y a une «école» de 1830, le mot «Décadence» est-il le mot approprié?

Il y aurait du reste une grosse difficulté—nous venons d'y faire allusion déjà: c'est de s'entendre sur la définition du terme romantisme. On trouve quelques pages, au début, sur l'usage du terme par les contemporains, c.à.d. sur le côté plutôt philologique (pp. xxvi-viii); mais notre désir de découvrir quelques traits nets qui caractériseraient le romantisme n'a pas trouvé satisfaction. Sans doute, il y a quelque risque qu'une nouvelle définition du romantisme n'en serait qu'une autre ajoutée aux mille et une déjà lancées; et peut-être M. Souriau s'est-il abstenu par prudence. Tout de même, pour un ouvrage de trois volumes, l'auteur aurait le droit d'en formuler une. Nous n'avons réussi à serrer de près qu'un seul élément ... toujours l'élément négatif: est romantique ce qui n'est pas classique: «Qu'est-ce que le romantisme? Une réaction. C'est comme je l'ai dit, le contraire du classicisme; de là ses défauts et ses qualités» (I, 304). Cela est souligné à propos du drame romantique (liii déjà, et puis II, 277; III, 199); et à propos du sermon (III, 149). Les passages donnant des éléments plus positifs relevés par nous sont: (III, 129) «inquiétude de l'esprit, mélancolie du cœur, génie fiévreux»; (III, 199) *Chatterton*: «Comme nous sommes loin du théâtre romantique avec ce drame de pensée»; et rapport à cette même pièce (III, 201): Planche, avec «une intelligence très perspicace,» salue «une réaction spiritualiste.» D'autre part, l'on est un peu dérouté quand M. Souriau parle de *Madame Bovary* comme d'une œuvre «classique,» et quand il rapproche Flaubert de Bossuet (III, 261). A côté de cela nous avons noté à plusieurs reprises cette affirmation que le goût de la littérature grecque était entièrement étranger au romantisme; on ne saurait faire de Chénier un précurseur du romantisme car son génie est grec; «l'Hellénisme est exactement aux antipodes du romantisme» (I, 63); Hugo n'a pas grande sympathie pour les Grecs modernes, lui qui «ne comprend pas, qui n'aime pas le vieux génie grec» (II, 226); voir encore III, 67; III, 294. On dirait presque, à lire certains passages de M. Souriau que Victor Hugo n'aimait pas les beaux vers! Il paraît aussi qu'il y a quelque malentendu sur un autre point: la première différence entre l'auteur de *Salammbo* et les romantiques c'est que Flaubert, «wantant décrire le pays de la lumière, commence par le visiter» (III, 258): cela n'empêche pas que la documentation et l'imagination de Flaubert jouant sur cette documentation errent tout autant—sinon plus—que celle de V. Hugo, comme cela a été démontré à maintes reprises.

M. Souriau soulève à plusieurs occasions le problème de la nationalité du romantisme; ce problème repris tout récemment par Reynaud, *Le romantisme, ses origines anglo-germaniques* (1926) et Henning, *L'Allemagne de Mme de Staël et la Polémique romantique* (1929). Il penche fortement pour la solution nationaliste; et en tous cas le fait est certain, le «rayonnement du romantisme français» en a fait un mouvement essentiellement français (pp. xlv ss.). Il y

revient à propos de la *Préface de Cromwell* (II, 207). Et, pour lui, la vraie source du romantisme en France, ce n'est pas Madame de Staël, c'est Chateaubriand: «C'est lui qui est la source vive du romantisme» (I, 307). On en discutera longtemps encore; et à vrai dire, on ne voit pas qu'il faille choisir entre les deux opinions; il peut y avoir certains traits nationaux—moraux, intellectuels—mais ces traits peuvent appartenir à plusieurs autres nations; il y a tout de même quelque chose comme une race *humaine*. Ce que M. Souriau semble avoir affirmé avec beaucoup de raison, c'est que l'opposition fanatique faite au romantisme a été, et est le plus souvent d'essence politique plutôt que littéraire et philosophique (pp. xxvi ss.).

La conclusion générale de l'ouvrage, s'il faut appeler cela une conclusion, c'est que le romantisme et le classicisme ensemble constituent l'esprit français: «Si l'on additionne le classicisme et le romantisme, n'obtient-on pas l'esprit français?» (III, 298); «A la manière de La Bruyère, je conclurai: il n'a manqué à Racine que d'être moins froid; quelle pureté, quelle exactitude, quelle politesse, quelle élégance, quels caractères! Il n'a manqué à Hugo que d'éviter l'improvisation, et d'étudier profondément le cœur humain; quel feu, quel lyrisme, quelles images et quelle science du frisson dramatique! Mais quel poète on aurait pu faire de ces deux hommes» (II, 277).

Terminons par une sorte de nomenclature de points qui paraissent intéressants pour ceux qui voudraient consulter l'ouvrage de M. Souriau.

Le premier volume s'ouvre par quelques chapitres sur Rousseau; mais qui ne font pas clairement saisir les rapports de Rousseau et du romantisme; ce qui n'est pas tout à fait étonnant puisque la définition du romantisme manque. Le Rousseau discuté—et assez malmené—est celui de la tradition, c.à.d. du sentimental romanesque. Et ceci étant le cas, on ne voit pas trop comment réconcilier les deux premières et les deux dernières lignes du chapitre intitulé «Influence immédiate de Rousseau»: «Laissant de côté le *Contrat social* qui n'appartient pas à l'histoire littéraire» ... et: «En 1788, un médecin des gardes du corps du comte d'Artois commente le *Contrat social*; il se nomme Marat» (I, 22-23). Nous osons dire que Rousseau n'est pas responsable des idées que lui prête M. Souriau aux pages 40, 54, 70, 151-52.

M. Souriau est aussi sympathique à Chateaubriand qu'il l'est peu à Madame de Staël; la manière dont il a amené la grande ombre de Napoléon dans tout le volume I est remarquable; voir p. ex. Livre IV, chapitre ii, «Les idées littéraires de l'empereur Napoléon»; le chapitre i, § 7, «Le Génie du Christianisme», etc.

Pourquoi cette aversion pour le roman historique—qui amène l'auteur à démolir si impitoyablement Vigny et d'autres?

Les chapitres sur Nodier, sur Musset, sur l'Ecole Saint-Simonienne sont excellents.

Remarquons en terminant que M. Souriau semble devenir moins indulgent à mesure qu'il avance; nous n'en avons pas découvert la raison; mais

d'autres feront sûrement la même observation; sa sérénité l'abandonne lorsqu'il parle de Juliette Drouet; quand il se laisse aller jusqu'à dénigrer quelques-uns des plus indiscutablement beaux poèmes de la *Légende des siècles* (ainsi «La première rencontre du Christ avec le tombeau»); etc. Quant aux phrases un peu vulgaires de Leconte de Lisle (III, 294), ne condamnent-elles pas davantage le grand poète qui les a écrites que le grand poète qu'elles étaient destinées à arracher de son piédestal?

Que ces quelques remarques n'enlèvent rien aux très grands éloges que méritent ces trois volumes!

ALBERT SCHINZ

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

